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DOWN AND OUT IN DISCOUNT AMERICA

by LIZA FEATHERSTONE

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MARY SUE
Our People Make The Difference
CASH

PROSECUTING US TORTURE
The Editors

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Alisa Solomon

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Mark Hertsgaard

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Tony Judt

ONLY THE DLC LOVES CENTRISM
David Sirota

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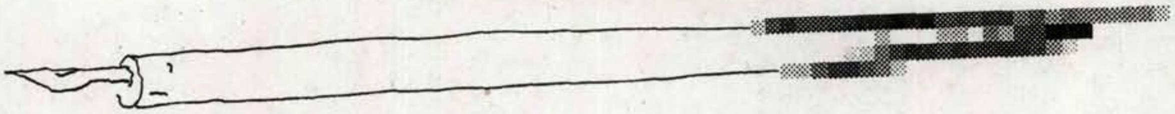
R. O. BLECHMAN

'VULGARLY OUT OF PLACE'

New York City

■ Patricia Williams needs to learn to "play the blues and go." I say this because I did not find Williams on Condoleezza Rice either satiric or insightful ["Diary of a Mad Law Professor," Dec. 13]. But it *was* full of the clichés one expects whenever a black man or woman does not pick up the sword considered "progressive." Rice is a Republican, not a Democrat, and that, apparently, is her great sin. She cannot be judged as what she is; Rice must endure these kinds of confessional essays disguised as commentary, with everything that Williams herself has apparently experienced pushed into the Republican context. In short, are we to assume that Williams has not suffered "the torment of loneliness" she projects onto Rice, that she has not been put in a dream position of sexual magnetism by left-wing white males and that she has not been the one of her kind and her ethnicity in the room with the guys who uphold the "progressive" ideology? The sexual speculations about Rice are perhaps most personally true to Williams and most vulgarly out of place—that is, unless one is not accustomed to seeing and hearing women of success demeaned with the consistency one would expect of a rapper.

If Williams wants to write a confession of an affirmative-action baby and detail all the sexual insults whispered, implied and trumpeted her way as she rose in her world, she should leave Rice out of it and just go for herself, which is the real topic. The complexity of female lives in our time of greater opportunity and accomplishment is deserving of some real thought, perhaps some freedom from obligatory conceptions of sensibility. Someone needs to keep the feet of the Republican Party to the fire—its sins are multitudinous enough—but some originality would be welcomed to the discussion.

STANLEY CROUCH

WILLIAMS REPLIES

New York City

■ Oh puh-leez. My clichés are strictly equal opportunity: I think the Republican Party's sins are great whatever race, religion or ethnicity they come wrapped in. And of course Condoleezza Rice is free to be as unprogressive as she wants to be; my point is that the Bush Administration's spin—and really, Stanley, I am not so naïve as to think it has anything to do with her on some personal level—has very deftly constructed an icon of Rice as righteously precocious little girl frozen in an untouchable time warp of 1963. Thus, she projects Martin Luther King's moral legacy, even as she is in fact the new face of the far hawkish right, so shmoozy with Big Oil that they named a tanker after her. She is a black Dick Cheney; but the cognitive dissonance between her image and her actual political stance seems to shield her from the kind of unapologetically tough scrutiny for which Democrats and progressives might otherwise be pressing. It is this complexly contradictory spin that, I posit, conservatives love to love.

And although it made my poor middle-aged heart flap about a bit to follow your so gentlemanly suggestion and imagine myself "put in a dream position of sexual magnetism by left-wing white males," it has about as much to do with what I was talking about as that time you waxed on in print—most vulgarly, if I may say so—about how far Anita Hill's skirt was cut up her "gams."

In any event, for the full confession of me as an affirmative-action baby, please consult my hot new memoir, *Open House: Of Family, Friends, Food, Piano Lessons, and the Search for a Room of My Own*, from Farrar, Straus and Giroux.

PATRICIA (*"Maybe I'm a rapper, but can't call me a slapper"*) WILLIAMS

SPOOKS LAMENT

Hamden, Conn.

■ Jason Vest wrings his hands about the damage allegedly being wrought on the CIA by the Bush Administration ["Destabilizing the CIA," Dec. 13], with quotes from ex-spooks maintaining that "the [Directorate of Operations] especially will effectively slow or close down" and that the former deputy director of operations is "not sure that the current DCI can recover from the wrong foot his partisan staff has put him on." One can also easily understand that the Bush Administration's unilateral pre-emptive policies will weaken NATO. One wonders what there is to lament in all this.

JEFFRY K. LARSON

LEFT CHURCHES LEFT OUT

Norwalk, Conn.

■ Frances Kissling is right that sexual justice issues must be an integral component of a religious commitment to social justice ["Sex & the Clergy," Dec. 13]. However, she does no justice to the tens of thousands of religious leaders, both men and women, who support these issues. Almost every denomination has an organization working to welcome GLBT people. More than thirty national religious organizations and denominations officially support abortion rights. The Religious Institute on Sexual Morality, Justice, and Healing is a network of 2,300 religious leaders who publicly and actively support a faith-based commitment to sexual and reproductive rights, including access to voluntary contraception, abortion, HIV/STD prevention and treatment, comprehensive sexuality education and full inclusion of women and sexual minorities in the life of the church.

Rather than denigrating some leaders, what we need is support for those who challenge sexual oppression and who work for justice within their congregations and denominations.

THE REV. DEBRA W. HAFFNER, *director*
Religious Institute on Sexual Morality,
Justice, and Healing

KISSLING REPLIES

Washington, DC

■ Debra Haffner is far too concerned that some religious leaders are "denigrated" by my article and others are not sufficiently praised, and too little concerned with the damage pseudo-progressive religious leaders are doing. The inability of the progressive religious movement to stand solidly for women's moral agency, which includes the right to choose abortion, denigrates all women and actually reinforces the agenda of the religious right.

FRANCES KISSLING

SPAWN OF THE INTERNET

Minneapolis

■ It's tempting to view technology tools that connect the "unconnected" as the panacea for what Micah Sifry calls the top-down style of the Democratic Party or MoveOn, but transparency and accountability aren't the only requirements for a more engaged democracy. Sifry's "The Rise of Open-Source Politics" [Nov. 22] visualizes a wickedly attractive, "Net-centric" democracy spawned fully grown from the brain of the Internet. It offers a "frictionless" (read, cheap) organizing model where "ordinary voters" participate equally with the mighty. This view of personal democracy (sometimes known as self-organizing) is all the rage these days. It's also a Rorschach for progressives. Where Sifry sees a growing community of ordinary voters, we see yet another middle-class movement claiming to speak for all.

While the Internet is many things, it is not the easy way out for progressive organizing. The organizing that succeeds at making a difference is local, face to face and has a long-term commitment to systemic change. Terrific community-led grassroots organizing is going on. A prime example: In South Central Los Angeles Karen Bass, formerly of Community Coalition, was elected with the assistance of voter turnout work from CC, AGENDA and unions HERE and SEIU. These groups have turned their street smarts to using technology and the Internet—but they don't confuse that with actual

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EDITORIALS

Prosecuting US Torture

Did anyone in the Bush White House cast an uneasy eye over the new indictment of Gen. Augusto Pinochet? It may seem over the top to mention that old buzzard in the same breath as an elected US President. But consider Task Force 6-26. It sounds like a relic of Pinochet's Operation Condor, whose state-sanctioned acts of murder resulted in the dictator's finally being brought to book after thirty years. In fact, Task Force 6-26 is a secret unit composed mostly of US Navy SEALs operating in Baghdad—its existence unacknowledged by the Pentagon. According to the *Washington Post*, a fact-finding mission for Army generals warned a year ago that Task Force 6-26 was running an off-the-books prison for detainees and applying more-than-moderate physical pressure—and that same task force is implicated in two prisoner deaths. Despite those warnings, Task Force 6-26, with its bland bureaucratic label, operates in Baghdad to this day.

The infamous photographs of depravity at Abu Ghraib may now actually be impeding public reckoning with the latest evidence of operations like Task Force 6-26. The pornographic violence of Abu Ghraib could be hung on low-level, poorly trained reservists like Lynndie England. The latest reports trickling out of prisons in Iraq, Afghanistan and Guantánamo paint another picture: systematic violence by trained interrogators and systematic deceit by their bosses up the chain of command. FBI and Defense Intelligence Agency (DIA) memos released to the ACLU under the Freedom of Information Act depict Defense Department interrogators—not "rogue" reservists—gagging a Guantánamo prisoner with "duct tape that covered much of his head" for reciting the Koran; squeezing a prisoner's genitalia and bending back his thumbs; punching another's face to a pulp and leaving beaten prisoners moaning in a fetal position on the cell floor. The International Committee of the Red Cross reports physical and psychological coercion "tantamount to torture," with the collusion not just of career leg-breakers but physicians and psychologists. These reports match in sickening detail affidavits from Camp Delta detainees David Hicks of Australia and British national Moazzam Begg.

Critically, in the new reports the chain of evidence ends just a whisper away from Donald Rumsfeld. In June, DIA director Vice Adm. Lowell Jacoby complained in a letter to Stephen Cambone, Rumsfeld's under secretary for intelligence, that two of his staffers had witnessed Special Forces in Baghdad beating a prisoner in the face severely enough to require medical attention. When they protested, Jacoby told Cambone, the DIA officers were threatened and their photos of the injuries confiscated. Meanwhile, FBI officials at Guantánamo were firing off alarmed and frustrated memos to Washington describing beatings, the use of dogs and other "aggressive" measures, which they found morally repugnant as well as likely to produce "unreliable results." The agents were overruled by Guantánamo's commanders and cautioned against too-vigorous a dissent by senior FBI officials. (No one in Congress has asked the obvious: If, as Rumsfeld insists, it is against US policy to torture prisoners, where did these skilled military interrogators learn their craft?)

What can be done? That's the pressing question, since US political and judicial institutions seem to be failing spectacularly. The CIA Inspector General's report on the role of intelligence officers at Abu Ghraib has yet to be released. It has been three months since the last—superficial—Congressional hearings on prison abuse. And although ranking Senate Judiciary Committee Democrat Patrick Leahy promises to ask tough questions about Abu Ghraib when Alberto Gonzales comes up for confirmation as Attorney General, that's no substitute for a proper investigation, for which Congressional Republicans show no inclination. Neither house has passed legislation to correct the Administra-

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tion's contorted interpretation of US war-crimes statutes and the Geneva Conventions. Even the Supreme Court seems to have little leverage: For months the White House has dragged its feet about scheduling Geneva Convention prisoner-of-war status reviews demanded by the Justices, finally establishing guilty-until-proven-innocent hearings so unfair that a federal judge has now issued an injunction against them.

No wonder the Center for Constitutional Rights, in New York—whose bold litigation won Guantánamo's detainees their Supreme Court recognition—has now turned to overseas human rights laws. On behalf of four Iraqis, CCR has appealed to Germany's federal prosecutor to initiate an inquiry under the universal-jurisdiction doctrines of that country's war-crimes statutes. German law—encoding that nation's revulsion at its past—allows for the prosecution of killing, torture, cruel and inhumane treatment, forcible transfers and sexual coercion, "even when the offense was committed abroad and bears no relation to Germany." At this writing prosecutors in Karlsruhe are poring over CCR's brief, and Secretary Rumsfeld—named in the German complaint along with Cambone, Gen. Ricardo Sanchez and others—has informed the German government that he will cancel his planned attendance at a Munich security conference in February should an investigation be moving forward.

As a legal doctrine, universal jurisdiction has hazards—it could easily be manipulated as a tool for imposing US policies. But in this case, the abuses of US military prisons are so systemic, severe and corrosive that transnational legal intervention is amply justified—all the more so, given US abstention from the International Criminal Court. And using Europe's rapidly evolving human rights law to hold the United States to what our own laws call "evolving standards of decency" follows healthy recent precedent: When Chilean politicians maintained General Pinochet's immunity, his victims appealed through Spanish law, leading to his 1998 arrest in London and paving the way for Chile to finally make leaders accountable, under its own constitution, for atrocities.

After 9/11, supporters of the Bush Administration were quick to quote, in distorted fashion, Supreme Court Justice Robert Jackson's admonition that the Bill of Rights is not a suicide pact. These latest revelations from Iraq, Afghanistan and Guantánamo bring Jackson to mind for different reasons. In 1945 Justice Jackson helped to initiate the German war-crimes tribunals, writing in a June 7 *Report to the President on Atrocities and War Crimes*: "We do not accept the paradox that legal responsibility should be the least where power is the greatest."

COMMENT

War Resisters Go North

Protests over the conduct of the Iraq war are mounting from what seems an unlikely place: the ranks of the military. In early December, eight soldiers sued in federal court to overturn the stop-loss policy that has extended their tour of duty indefinitely. At Camp Buehring in the Kuwaiti desert, Army National Guard Specialist Thomas Wilson, cheered on by his fellow soldiers, demanded that Donald Rumsfeld explain why the troops had to rummage through garbage heaps for scraps to armor their vehicles. Meanwhile, the Pentagon has admitted that some 5,500 enlisted soldiers have deserted since the "liberation" of Iraq began. While these disgruntled grunts don't explicitly challenge the validity of the war itself, their decision to complain formally, or even to quit, strongly suggests a dwindling of faith in the mission.

Pfc. Jeremy Hinzman, of the 82nd Airborne, has made his second thoughts public. As he told me this past March, "The war is bogus. There weren't any weapons of mass destruction, and Saddam Hussein had nothing to do with 9/11. The war was not pursued in self-defense, and as such it is illegal. I decided I could not participate in such a criminal enterprise."

On December 6–8, while his comrades were filing suit and confronting Rumsfeld, Hinzman was making this argument before Canada's Immigration and Refugee Board (IRB) in a bid for asylum as a principled deserter from the US Army. In doing so, he was putting the war itself on trial, articulating clearly the doubts that are beginning to tug at the conscience of some US troops.

Hinzman enlisted in the Army in 2001, making what he calls a typical "Faustian bargain"—trading service for college—and looking for a way to be part of something "bigger than myself," where he might "live for ideals rather than just to consume." But in basic training, as drills focused on "breaking down the human inhibition to killing," he began to realize he had made the wrong choice. Aghast at finding himself joining in training chants like, "What makes the grass grow? Blood, blood, bright red blood," he filed for conscientious objector status, serving in noncombat duty in Afghanistan while his application was in process. Back at Fort Bragg in late 2003, his CO application denied, Hinzman received word that his unit would be shipping out to Iraq in a few days. He and his wife got into their Chevy with their toddler and drove to Toronto, arriving there January 3 of last year. He is the first of three deserters to ask for refugee protection. A ruling is expected in February.

As is typical in a case making a novel claim or with a high public profile, the Canadian government intervened, asserting that Hinzman does not fit the definition of a refugee: someone who is fleeing a well-founded fear of persecution. Canada also argued—and in an interim ruling issued about two weeks before the hearing, the IRB judge agreed—that the question of the war's legality is irrelevant to the case.

The government is not revealing its reasoning, but one can imagine a number of competing concerns pulsing beneath it: on the one hand, a reluctance to embarrass its bullying trading partner; on the other, an intense domestic opposition to the Iraq War. At the same time, Canada may be anxious about the possibility of an American draft, despite the Bush Administration's repeated denials that one is coming. Some thirty-five years ago, an estimated 60,000 men and women resisting the Vietnam War surged north. (In those days, they could simply present themselves at the border and apply for landed immigrant status; since then, Canada has instituted a refugee determination procedure.)

One of them was Jeffry House, Hinzman's attorney. He regrets losing "our cleanest argument": While refugee law states that prosecution is not persecution, House intended to show that it is

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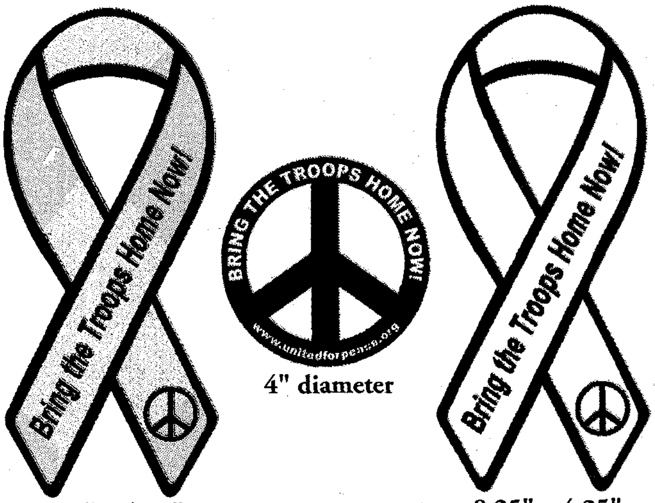
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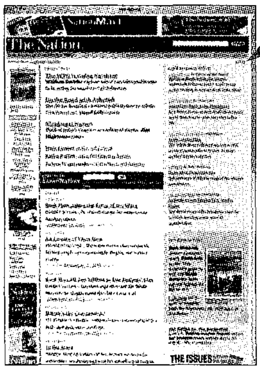

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indeed persecution to punish someone for refusing to take part in a war that is illegal under international law, which sanctions war only when it is undertaken in self-defense or with authorization of the United Nations Security Council.

Still, House explains, even if the illegality of the decision to go to war is off the table, the question of how the war is being waged remains relevant to Hinzman's claim. "What's happening on the ground in Iraq is violating Geneva Conventions and international human rights law," House says. "No one should be forced to participate." From the cells of Abu Ghraib to the living rooms of Falluja, any number of examples can make the case.

Marine Sgt. Jimmy Massey, who served in Iraq during the invasion in March 2003, testified on Hinzman's behalf, explaining, he told me, that "it's the system, not the individual soldier, that is the problem. Even atrocities are standard operating procedure." At the hearing, he recounted in graphic and shocking detail how his unit killed more than thirty innocent Iraqi civilians at checkpoints, "lighting them up" with machine gun fire. He also described how Marines shot dead unarmed Iraqi demonstrators who posed no threat. "I was never clear on who was the enemy and who was not," he said. "When you don't know who the enemy is, what are you doing there?" A Marine Corps spokesman has said that none of the acts Massey described violated rules of engagement.

If Hinzman is denied at the IRB, there are possibilities for appeal. And then, House notes, "the question of the illegality of the war has to be confronted politically." After all, Prime Minister Paul Martin may have promised to help with Iraq's elections, but his predecessor, Jean Chrétien, declined to join the "coalition" forces without a nod from the UN Security Council. And the current Justice Minister, Irwin Cotler, is on record challenging the war under international law. In answering Specialist Wilson's question at Camp Buehring, Rumsfeld smugly told the 2,000 assembled soldiers, "You go to war with the army you have." In his brave stand, Jeremy Hinzman suggests another option: The army can refuse to go at all. ALISA SOLOMON

Alisa Solomon, a critic and journalist, teaches at the City University of New York.

CALVIN TRILLIN

ON THE POISONING OF THE OPPOSITION CANDIDATE IN THE UKRAINIAN PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION

His blessings Kerry now can count.
That wasn't so hereto.
But now we see some limits on
What even Rove would do.

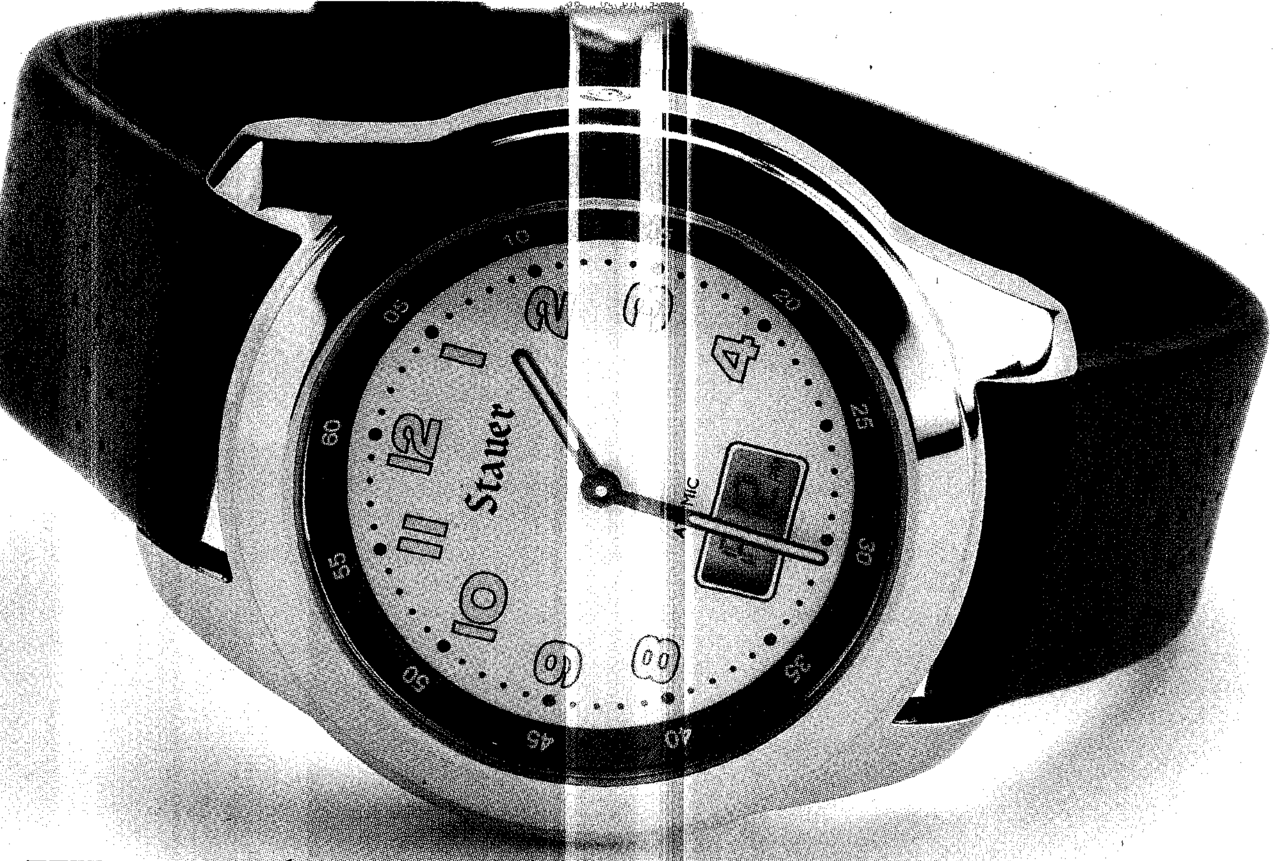
Flawed Intelligence Bill

The debate held before Congress voted to reorganize the nation's intelligence agencies under the authority of an all-powerful intelligence czar was generally portrayed as a simple struggle between a united front of Republican and Democratic leaders on one hand and a handful of conservatives griping about immigration and military intelligence concerns on the other. But there was another front of opposition from the progressive end of the spectrum, which pointed to more serious issues.

The bill passed overwhelmingly—89 to 2 in the Senate and 336 to 75 in the House, where most of the opposition came from conservatives who wanted tougher anti-immigrant measures. Almost unnoted, however, was the opposition of one Democratic senator, West Virginia's Robert Byrd, and eight Democratic Congressmen, including some of the most progressive members of the House, who recognized that the legislation included what Byrd, the dean of the Senate, described as "unsettling provisions." He was particularly troubled by measures that make Congressional oversight more difficult, including a requirement that the new national intelligence director submit any Congressional testimony to the White House Office of Management and Budget for prior approval—thus preventing Congress from receiving nonpartisan intelligence analysis. Wisconsin Democrat David Obey, the ranking minority member on the House Appropriations Committee, pointed to a potentially more serious concern: "One of the bill's most glaring shortcomings is that it does not guarantee that dissenting or alternative views will ever be clearly stated to the President. That was a major problem in the decision to go to war in Iraq."

The most consistent concern among progressive foes of the legislation—such as Ohio's Dennis Kucinich, Minnesota's Martin Olav Sabo and Washington's Jim McDermott, president of Americans for Democratic Action—was with the bill's backdoor assaults on privacy protections. According to the American Civil Liberties Union, which opposed the bill, the final agreement between the House and the Senate included measures that laid the groundwork for a de facto national ID card. It also unnecessarily expands law-enforcement powers to allow for more wiretapping of phones and eliminates "guilt by association" protections so that mere membership in a group identified by the Feds as a "terrorist organization" will for the first time in US history become a criminal offense. Some of the new law-enforcement powers were first proposed in Attorney General John Ashcroft's widely discredited "Patriot Act II" proposal, which stirred so much opposition on both the right and the left that it was never taken up by Congress.

Considering all the problems with the bill, why didn't more Democrats oppose it? Byrd notes that members had less than twenty-four hours to read the final version of the legislation. But the senior senator gets closer to the truth when he suggests that in the post-9/11 era most members of Congress, even when they wear the title of opposition, do not have much stomach for honest debate about fighting terrorism or defending liberty. "Like pygmies on the battlefield of history," Byrd said of the Senate, "we cower like whipped dogs in the face of political pressure when it comes to issues like intelligence reform." JOHN NICHOLS



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A Challenge to Enviros

America's environmental movement has failed and should die as soon as possible so something better can take its place. Or at least so argues a provocative insider essay that has set tongues wagging and tempers flaring at the movement's highest levels. Titled "The Death of Environmentalism" (available at www.thebreakthrough.org), the 12,000-word essay was written by Michael Shellenberger and Ted Nordhaus, a publicist and a pollster who boast a combined twenty years of experience working for some of the movement's most prominent organizations and donors. The essay was released at the October meeting of the Environmental Grantmakers Association, whose 250 members provide much of the movement's operating funds. "A lot of people are talking about it," says Philip Clapp, president of the National Environmental Trust and a critic of the essay. "But the last way to influence people is to start by saying everything you're doing is wrong."

In an interview, Shellenberger and Nordhaus retreat somewhat from the death rhetoric that even some supporters think was over the top. "Do NRDC and the other big groups need to close their doors? No," says Shellenberger. "But they desperately need to rethink how they do their work." Not only has the movement been unable to prevent George W. Bush's rollback of existing environmental protections, the writers argue; it is not making fast enough progress against the overarching threat of our era, global climate change. The reason, the authors assert, is environmentalism's allegiance to single-issue politics and technical-fix solutions.

"We wrote this essay after years of being hired by environmental groups to sell their solutions to the American public," says Shellenberger. "And we got tired of promoting ten-point plans for emissions caps and fuel efficiency that may appeal to policy wonks but don't engage the ordinary citizens you have to reach to effect real change." Technical fixes simply aren't sufficient to deal with climate change, species loss, deforestation or other major environmental threats, says Nordhaus. "The entire global economy has to be transformed," he says, "which is a much bigger problem than environmentalism has faced in the past." Meanwhile, Shellenberger adds, "we've lost all three branches of government to the hard right, which is hostile to the entire environmental project."

The only way forward, the authors argue, is for environmentalists to abandon their small-bore, politically neutral approach. What's needed is a more expansive strategy aimed at building a political majority in the United States that will support not only environmental but other progressive values. "You could write a similar report about all the single-issue constituencies—labor, women, civil rights," Shellenberger says. "They're all faltering now. They all need to think of themselves as part of a larger political movement, figure out what vision and values they share, and find ways to frame their messages and organize accordingly."

Shellenberger and Nordhaus, who interviewed twenty-five leading advocates and funders, say their intention was "to start a discussion about the limits of the environmental movement as it's currently conceived." In response, they claim to have gotten hundreds of e-mails from mid-level staffers of environmental groups, university students and teachers, and a few funders. Bill McKibben, who has followed the climate-change issue since his classic *The End of Nature* was published in 1989, applauds the authors for "trying to figure out how environmentalists can do better" and says their essay will be a focus of discussion at a conference on climate-change solutions he's helping to organize in January at Middlebury College.

But Shellenberger and Nordhaus say they've gotten little formal response from their main targets: the environmental movement's largest organizations and the foundations that support them. Peter Teague, environmental programs director at the Nathan Cummings Foundation and a sponsor of the essay, says the Environmental Grantmakers Association considered devoting a session of its December meeting to the essay but "my understanding is that scheduling conflicts prevented it." Josh Reichert, who as head of the Pew Charitable Trust's environmental program is one of the major funders of climate-change activism, declined to comment for this article. Nor has the Green Group, a coalition of large environmental organizations working in Washington, DC, "had any particular conversations about the essay," says Rebecca Wodder, president of American Rivers, whose one-year term as Green Group chair expired in December.

One prominent exception to the silence is Carl Pope, who issued a blistering critique in a 6,650-word counter-essay that he sent to funders (available at www.sierraclub.org/pressroom/messages/2004december_pope.asp). Declaring himself "deeply disappointed and angered," the Sierra Club's executive director called Shellenberger and Nordhaus's essay "unfair, unclear and divisive" and said it would make the essential task of rethinking the movement's strategy more difficult. Pope accepts that "fundamental changes are needed" in how the movement approaches climate change but says that "dying does not seem a particularly helpful form of that work." And he complains that the authors construct a straw man when they say environmentalists must broaden their political alliances on the basis of progressive values—that's something the Sierra Club and others have long recognized, and practiced. "But this is a case for modernizing the left, not for killing environmentalism," Pope writes.

"We were excited to get Carl Pope's response because it represented a dialogue," replies Shellenberger. "He agrees with us that we're losing and we need to rethink things. But he ends his paper by suggesting the same kind of solutions environmentalists have proposed for forty years: pollution controls and a series of NIMBY ["not in my backyard"] campaigns to stop global warming."

In interviews, other environmental leaders echoed Pope's claim that they already practice what Shellenberger and Nordhaus preach. "It was unfortunate Michael and Ted framed it the way they do [because] much of the movement already agrees that we have to speak in positive economic language and focus on values that connect us to the American people," says Bracken Hendricks, executive director of the Apollo Alliance. (Ironically, Shellenberger and Nordhaus repeatedly invoke the Apollo Alliance—a two-year effort to align environmentalists, unions, state and local

(Continued on Page 20)

ALEXANDER COCKBURN

Why They Hated Gary Webb

Few spectacles in journalism in the mid-1990s were more disgusting than the slagging of Gary Webb in the *New York Times*, *Washington Post* and *Los Angeles Times*. Squadrons of hacks, some of them with careerlong ties to the CIA, sprayed thousands of words of vitriol over Webb and his paper, the *San Jose Mercury News*, for besmirching the agency's fine name by charging it, in his 1996 "Dark Alliance" series, with complicity in the importing of cocaine into the United States.

BEAT THE
DEVIL

There are certain things you aren't supposed to mention in public in America. The systematic state-sponsorship of torture by the United States used to be a major no-no, but that went by the board this year (even though Seymour Hersh treated the CIA with undue kindness in *The Road to Abu Ghraib*). A prime no-no is that the US government has used assassination down the years as an instrument of national policy; also that the CIA's complicity with drug-dealing criminal gangs stretches from the Afghanistan of today back to the year the agency was founded, in 1947. That last one is the line Webb stepped over. He paid for his presumption by undergoing one of the unfairest batterings in the history of the US press. His own paper turned on him.

Friday, December 10, Webb died in his Sacramento apartment from what seems to have been a self-inflicted gunshot blast to the head. The notices of his passing in many newspapers were as nasty as ever. The *Los Angeles Times* took care to note that even after the "Dark Alliance" uproar Webb's career had been "troubled," offering as evidence the following: "While working for another legislative committee in Sacramento, Webb wrote a report accusing the California Highway Patrol of unofficially condoning and even encouraging racial profiling in its drug interdiction program." The effrontery of the man! "Legislative officials released the report in 1999," the story piously continued, "but cautioned that it was based mainly on assumptions and anecdotes," no doubt meaning that Webb didn't have dozens of CHP officers stating under oath, on the record, that they were picking on blacks and Hispanics. There were similar fountains of outrage in 1996 that the CIA hadn't been given enough space in Webb's series to solemnly swear that never a gram of cocaine had passed under its nose but that it had been seized and turned over to the DEA or US Customs.

In 1998 Jeffrey St. Clair and I published *Whiteout*, a book about the relationships among the CIA, drugs and the press since the agency's founding. We also examined the Webb affair in detail. On a lesser scale and at lower volume, *Whiteout* elicited the same sort of abuse Webb drew. It was a long book stuffed with well-documented facts, over which the critics vaulted to charge us, as they did Webb, with "conspiracy-mongering," even as they accused us of recycling "old news." (The oddest was a multipage screed in *The Nation* flaying us for giving aid and comfort to the war on drugs and not addressing the truly important question, Why do people take drugs? As I said at the time, To get high, stupid!)

One of the CIA's favored modes of self-protection is the "uncover-up." The agency first denies with passion, then later concedes, in muffled tones, the charges leveled against it. Such charges have included the agency's recruitment of Nazi scientists and SS officers; experiments on unwitting American citizens; efforts to assassinate Castro; alliances with opium lords in Burma, Thailand and Laos; an assassination program in Vietnam; complicity in the toppling of Salvador Allende in Chile; the arming of opium traffickers and religious fanatics in Afghanistan; the training of murderous police and soldiers in Guatemala and El Salvador; and involvement in drugs-and-arms shuttles between Latin America and the United States.

True to form, after Webb's series raised a storm, particularly in the black community, the CIA issued categorical denials. Then came the noisy pledges of an intense and far-reaching investigation by the CIA's Inspector General, Fred Hitz. On December 19, 1997, stories in the *Washington Post* by Walter Pincus and the *New York Times* by Tim Weiner appeared simultaneously, both saying the same thing: Hitz had finished his investigation. He had found no link, "directly or indirectly," between the CIA and the cocaine traffickers. As both Pincus and Weiner admitted in their stories, neither of the two journalists had seen the report itself.

The actual report, so loudly heralded, received almost no examination. But those who took the time to examine the 149-page document—the first of two volumes—found Hitz making one damning admission after another, including an account of a meeting between a pilot who was making drug/arms runs between San Francisco and Costa Rica with two *contra* leaders who were also partners with the San Francisco–based *contra*/drug smuggler Norwin Meneses. Present at this encounter in Costa Rica was a man who said his name was Ivan Gomez, identified by one of the *contras* as the CIA's "man in Costa Rica." The pilot told Hitz that Gomez said he was there "ensuring that the profits from the cocaine went to the Contras and not into someone's pocket." The second volume of Inspector General Hitz's investigation, released in the fall of 1998, buttressed Webb's case even more tightly, as James Risen conceded in a story in the *New York Times* on October 10 of that year.

So why did the top-tier press savage Webb and parrot the CIA's denials? Another *New York Times* reporter, Keith Schneider, was asked by *In These Times* back in 1987 why he had devoted a three-part series in the *Times* to attacks on the Iran/*contra* hearings chaired by Senator John Kerry. Schneider said such a story could "shatter the Republic. I think it is so damaging, the implications are so extraordinary, that for us to run the story, it had better be based on the most solid evidence we could amass." Kerry did uncover mountains of evidence. So did Webb. But neither of them got the only thing that would have satisfied Schneider, Pincus and all the other critics: a signed confession of CIA complicity by the Director of Central Intelligence himself. Short of that, I'm afraid we're left with "innuendo," "conspiracy-mongering" and "old news." We're also left with the memory of some great work by a very fine journalist who deserved a lot better than he got. ■

KATHA POLLITT

Stuff These Stockings (Please)

SUB
JECT
to
DE
BATE

Another holiday season—and only a year after the last one. How did that happen? Probably you are feeling a bit tapped out just now, what with having given your savings, your house and your first-born to MoveOn, ACT and similar. The elections swallowed up huge lashings of progressive cash, leaving other causes lean and hungry. So, generous *Nation* readers, down a couple of eggnogs and whip out that battered checkbook. Here's a list of excellent organizations, some familiar from years past, some new, with an emphasis on ones with a personal touch, a political mission and extremely low administrative costs:

Canadian Harambee Education Society. For 400 Canadian dollars (around $327 US) a year, you can send a Kenyan or Tanzanian girl to high school and change her life forever. The girls CHES subsidizes (nearly 400 this year) have placed well in the national entrance exams but cannot afford the tuition, which can be the equivalent of their families' annual income. As in so much of the world, when money is scarce, parents educate sons before daughters. CHES not only pays the bills but helps the girls flourish in school and after. Donations of any size are welcome—if you mark your check "dorm project" it will go toward the $60,000 needed to build a girl's dorm so the technical school in Katesh, Tanzania, can accept female students to be trained as mechanics, electricians, welders, etc. CHES is a secular humanist organization, which is nice. American donors should make out their checks to Humanist Society of Friends with CHES in the memo line (don't forget), and mail it to HSF at 1777 T Street NW, Washington, DC 20009 (www.canadianharambee.ca).

Equality Now. This organization fights some of the most flagrant abuses of women's human rights around the world—from female genital mutilation in Africa to Asian sex tours organized in the New York City area. In March it launched a global campaign against laws that discriminate against women—whether by permitting wife-beating and marital rape, tolerating rape and abduction, banning women from voting and inheriting property or, as in Afghanistan, imprisoning very young girls who run away from forced marriages. What I particularly like about Equality Now is its close connections with local groups and with the global feminist movement—including not just women but men. With the Bush Administration redoubling its efforts to undermine the international consensus supporting women's rights and advancement that emerged at the UN's 1995 Beijing conference, Equality Now's work is more essential than ever. Send your check to Box 20646, Columbus Circle Station, New York, NY 10023 (www.equalitynow.org).

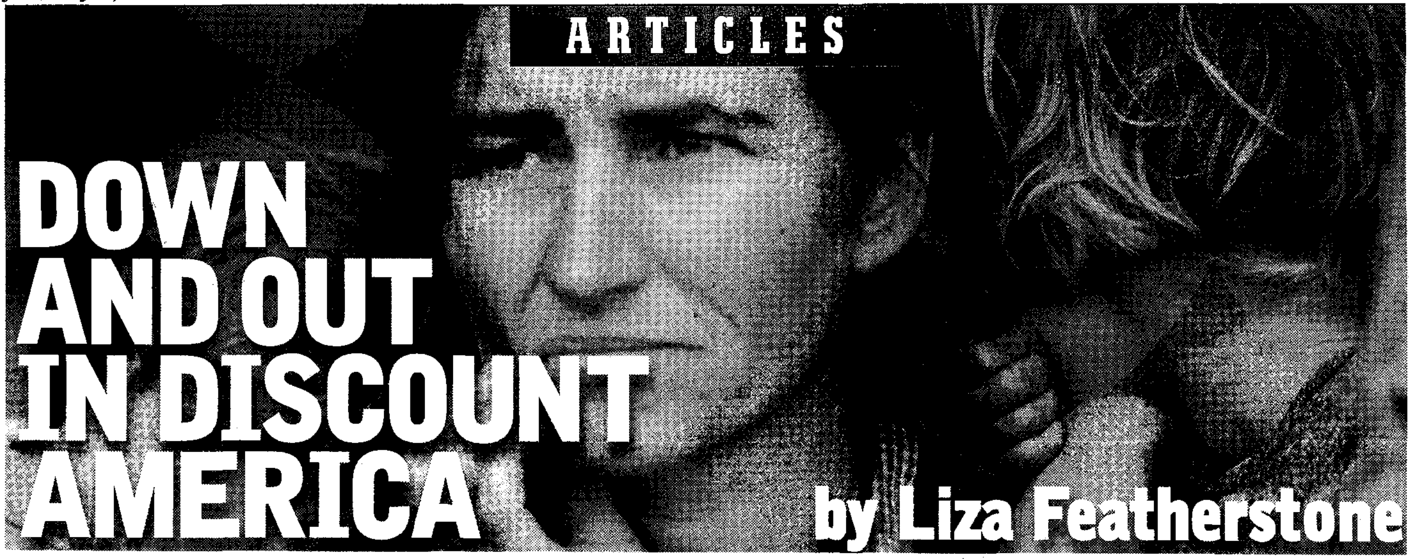
Afghan Women's Fund. The Taliban is gone, but Afghan women remain among the most impoverished and least emancipated in the world. Moreover, decades of war have left millions of widows, many of whom are the sole support of their children. Run by the fearless and indefatigable Taliban refugee Fahima Vorgetts, AWF gives women and girls opportunities for economic independence: It supports schools, classes in literacy, crafts and sewing; pays for wells and sanitation in villages; gives women in the countryside goats and chickens to generate both food and income; and provides a wide variety of material aid to poor families (blankets, clothes, medicine, money for food). With questions being raised about the profligate ways of some NGOs operating in Afghanistan, a donation to AWF insures that the money you give for Afghan women actually reaches them. Make your check out to WAW/AWF, and send it to 35-32 Union Street, 2nd floor, Flushing, NY 11354.

Freedom From Religion Foundation. Did you know that an organization called MatchPoint (now MentorKids USA) in Arizona got $225,000 in federal funds to underwrite a mentorship program in which at-risk youth were told that Christ was the answer—the only answer—to their problems? When not suing the pants off the people responsible for such flagrantly unconstitutional use of your tax dollars, the FFRF spreads the secularist gospel with publications and gatherings. If you want your kids to learn in school why the theory of evolution isn't "just a theory," and if you think it's weird that an Alabama judge wears the Ten Commandments on his courtroom robes, join this uncompromising activist group and support their sometimes unpopular but always important work. Send checks to Box 750, Madison, WI 53701 (www.ffrf.org).

Texas Coalition to Abolish the Death Penalty. This year, as is usually the case, Texas executed more people—twenty-three—than any other state, often after trials of routine but nonetheless scandalous unfairness. Help the good people who are trying to change that in their state and the world. They surely have their work cut out for them! Send checks to 3400 Montrose Blvd., Suite 312, Houston, TX 77006 (www.tcadp.org).

Code Pink. This feminist peace organization, famous for unfurling an antiwar banner on the floor of the Republican National Convention, is collecting medical and other supplies for the victims of the devastating US military attack on Falluja, many of whom have lost their homes and all their possessions and are camping out wherever they can. Don't delay—this is a public health emergency, and it is our country's fault. Send checks to Help Iraqis/Global Exchange, 2017 Mission St., #303, San Francisco, CA 94110 (www.codepinkalert.org).

National Advocates for Pregnant Women. This spirited group, headed by the brilliant civil liberties lawyer Lynn Paltrow, supports the rights of poor, often minority, sometimes drug-using women to respectful healthcare and social services, and fights punitive "fetal rights" prosecutions and legislation. The women NAPW supports are at the center of a perfect storm made of antichoice politics, racism and the "war on drugs": They need support and treatment, not to be arrested in their beds in the maternity ward, as happened in South Carolina, and clapped into prison. Pregnant women have constitutional rights too. And remember, as with all civil liberties issues, today it's them; tomorrow it could be you. Send checks to 153 Waverly Pl., 6th floor, New York, NY 10011 (www.advocatesforpregnantwomen.org). ■



DOWN AND OUT IN DISCOUNT AMERICA

by Liza Featherstone

On the day after Thanksgiving, the biggest shopping day of the year, Wal-Mart's many progressive critics—not to mention its business competitors—finally enjoyed a bit of schadenfreude when the retailer had to admit to "disappointing" sales. The problem was quickly revealed: Wal-Mart hadn't been discounting aggressively enough. Without low prices, Wal-Mart just isn't Wal-Mart.

That's not a mistake the big-box behemoth is likely to make again. Wal-Mart knows its customers, and it knows how badly they need the discounts. Like Wal-Mart's workers, its customers are overwhelmingly female, and struggling to make ends meet. Betty Dukes, the lead plaintiff in *Dukes v. Wal-Mart*, the landmark sex-discrimination case against the company, points out that Wal-Mart takes out ads in her local paper the same day the community's poorest citizens collect their welfare checks. "They are promoting themselves to low-income people," she says. "That's who they lure. They don't lure the rich.... They understand the economy of America. They know the haves and have-nots. They don't put Wal-Mart in Piedmonts. They don't put Wal-Mart in those high-end parts of the community. They plant themselves right in the middle of Poorville."

Betty Dukes is right. A 2000 study by Andrew Franklin, then an economist at the University of Connecticut, showed that Wal-Mart operated primarily in poor and working-class communities, finding, in the bone-dry language of his discipline, "a significant negative relationship between median household income and Wal-Mart's presence in the market." Although fancy retailers noted with chagrin during the 2001 recession that absolutely everybody shops at Wal-Mart—"Even people with $100,000 incomes now shop at Wal-Mart," a PR flack for one upscale mall fumed—the Bloomingdale's set is not the discounter's primary market, and probably never will be. Only 6 percent of Wal-Mart shoppers have annual family incomes of more than $100,000. A 2003 study found that 23 percent of Wal-Mart Supercenter customers live on incomes of less than $25,000 a year. More than 20 percent of Wal-Mart shoppers have no bank account, long considered a sign of dire poverty. And while almost half of Wal-Mart Supercenter customers are blue-collar workers and their families, 20 percent are unemployed or elderly.

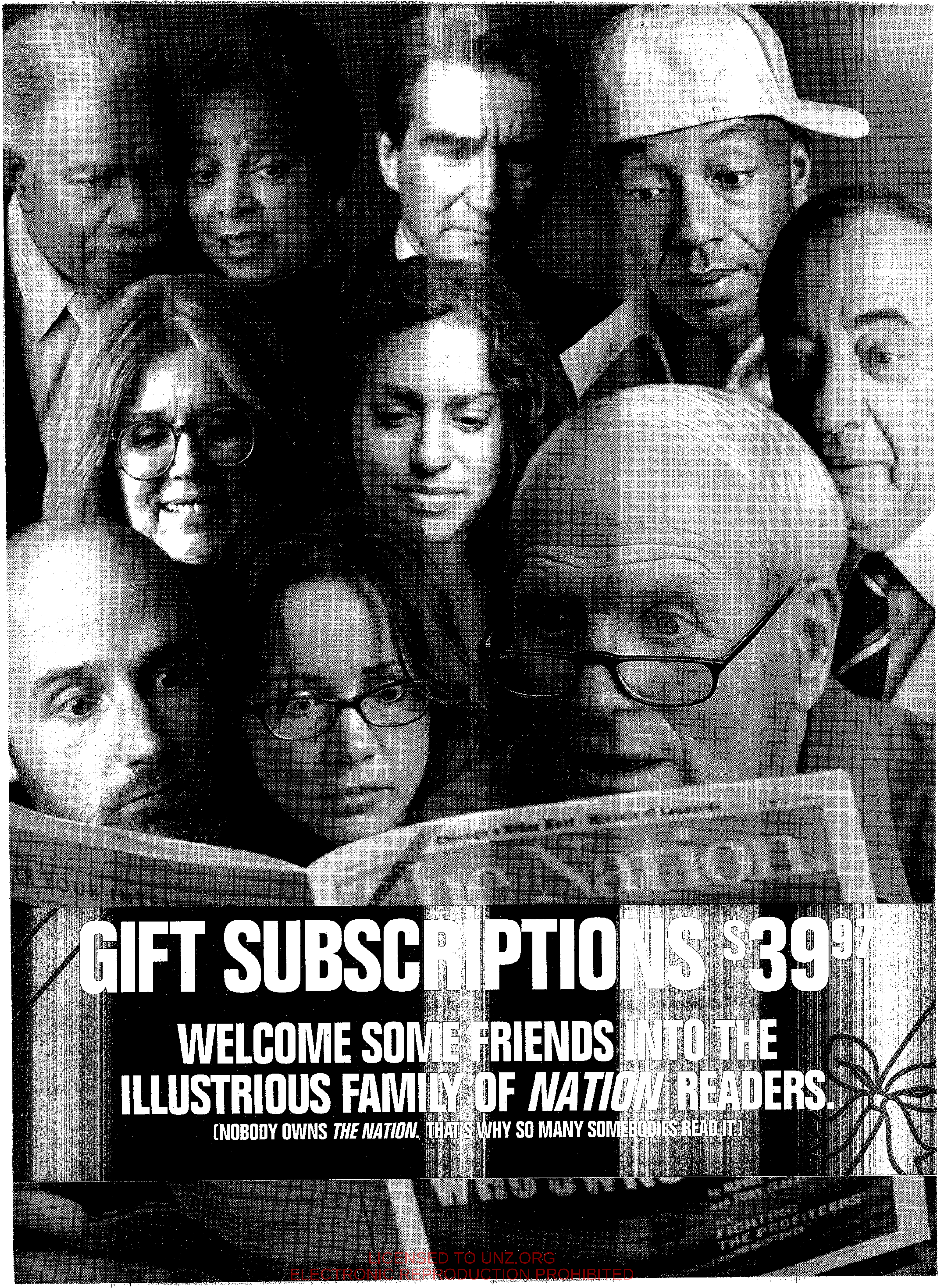
Al Zack, who until his retirement in 2004 was the United Food and Commercial Workers' vice president for strategic programs, observes that appealing to the poor was "Sam Walton's real genius. He figured out how to make money off of poverty. He located his first stores in poor rural areas and discovered a real market. The only problem with the business model is that it really needs to create more poverty to grow." That problem is cleverly solved by creating more bad jobs worldwide. In a chilling reversal of Henry Ford's strategy, which was to pay his workers amply so they could buy Ford cars, Wal-Mart's stingy compensation policies—workers make, on average, just over $8 an hour, and if they want health insurance, they must pay more than a third of the premium—contribute to an economy in which, increasingly, workers can only afford to shop at Wal-Mart.

To make this model work, Wal-Mart must keep labor costs down. It does this by making corporate crime an integral part of its business strategy. Wal-Mart routinely violates laws protecting workers' organizing rights (workers have even been fired for union activity). It is a repeat offender on overtime laws; in more than thirty states, workers have brought wage-and-hour class-action suits against the retailer. In some cases, workers say, managers encouraged them to clock out and keep working; in others, managers locked the doors and would not let employees go home at the end of their shifts. And it's often women who suffer most from Wal-Mart's labor practices. *Dukes v. Wal-Mart*, which is the largest civil rights class-action suit in history, charges the company with systematically discriminating against women in pay and promotions [see Featherstone, "Wal-Mart Values: Selling Women Short," December 16, 2002].

Solidarity Across the Checkout Counter

Given the poverty they have in common, it makes sense that Wal-Mart's workers often express a strong feeling of solidarity with the shoppers. Wal-Mart workers tend to be aware that the customers' circumstances are similar to their own, and to identify with them. Some complain about rude customers, but most seem to genuinely enjoy the shoppers.

One longtime department manager in Ohio cheerfully recalls her successful job interview at Wal-Mart. Because of her weight, she told her interviewers, she'd be better able to help the customer. "I told them I wanted to work in the ladies department because I'm a heavy girl." She understands the frustrations of the large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shopper, she told them: "'You know, you go into Lane Bryant and some skinny girl is trying to sell you clothes.' They laughed at that and said, 'You get a second interview!'"

One plaintiff in the *Dukes* lawsuit, Cleo Page, who no longer works at Wal-Mart, says she was a great customer service manager because "I knew how people feel when they shop, so I was really empathetic."

Many Wal-Mart workers say they began working at their local Wal-Mart because they shopped there. "I was practically born in Wal-Mart," says Alyssa Warrick, a former employee now attending Truman State University in Missouri. "My mom is obsessed with shopping.... I thought it would be pretty easy since I knew where most of the stuff was." Most assumed they would love working at Wal-Mart. "I always loved shopping there," enthuses *Dukes* plaintiff Dee Gunter. "That's why I wanted to work for 'em."

Shopping is traditionally a world of intense female communication and bonding, and women have long excelled in retail sales in part because of the identification between clerk and shopper. Page, who still shops at Wal-Mart, is now a lingerie saleswoman at Mervyn's (owned by Target). "I do enjoy retail," she says. "I like feeling needed and I like helping people, especially women."

Betty Dukes says, "I strive to give Wal-Mart customers one hundred percent of my abilities." This sentiment was repeated by numerous other Wal-Mart workers, always with heartfelt sincerity. Betty Hamilton, a 61-year-old clerk in a Las Vegas Sam's Club, won her store's customer service award last year. She is very knowledgeable about jewelry, her favorite department, and proud of it. Hamilton resents her employer—she complains about sexual harassment and discrimination, and feels she has been penalized on the job for her union sympathies—but remains deeply devoted to her customers. She enjoys imparting her knowledge to shoppers so "they can walk out of there and feel like they know something." Like Page, Hamilton feels she is helping people. "It makes me so happy when I sell something that I know is an extraordinarily good buy," she says. "I feel like I've done somebody a really good favor."

The enthusiasm of these women for their jobs, despite the workplace indignities many of them have faced, should not assure anybody that the company's abuses don't matter. In fact, it should underscore the tremendous debt Wal-Mart owes women: This company has built its vast profits not only on women's drudgery but also on their joy, creativity and genuine care for the customer.

Why Boycotts Don't Always Work

Will consumers return that solidarity and punish Wal-Mart for discriminating against women? Do customers care about workers as much as workers care about them? Some women's groups, like the National Organization for Women and Code Pink, have been hoping that they do, and have encouraged the public not to shop at Wal-Mart. While this tactic could be fruitful in some community battles, it's unlikely to catch on nationwide. A customer saves 20–25 percent by buying groceries at Wal-Mart rather than from a competitor, according to retail analysts, and poor women need those savings more than anyone.

That's why many women welcome the new Wal-Marts in their communities. The *Winona* (Minnesota) *Post* extensively covered a controversy over whether to allow a Wal-Mart Supercenter into the small town; the letters to the editor in response offer a window into the female customer's loyalty to Wal-Mart. Though the paper devoted substantial space to the sex discrimination case, the readers who most vehemently defended the retailer were female. From the nearby town of Rollingstone, Cindy Kay wrote that she needed the new Wal-Mart because the local stores didn't carry large-enough sizes. She denounced the local anti–Wal-Mart campaign as a plot by rich and thin elites: "I'm glad those people can fit into and afford such clothes. I can barely afford Shopko and Target!"

A week later, Carolyn Goree, a preschool teacher also hoping for a Winona Wal-Mart, wrote in a letter to the *Post* editor that when she shops at most stores, $200 fills only a bag or two, but at Wal-Mart, "I come out with a cart full top and bottom. How great that feels." Lacking a local Wal-Mart, Goree drives over the Wisconsin border to get her fix. She was incensed by an earlier article's lament that some workers make only $15,000 yearly. "Come on!" Goree objected. "Is $15,000 really that bad of a yearly income? I'm a single mom and when working out of my home, I made $12,000 tops and that was with child support. I too work, pay for a mortgage, lights, food, everything to live. Everything in life is a choice.... I am for the little man/woman—I'm one of them. So I say stand up and get a Wal-Mart."

Sara Jennings, a disabled Winona reader living on a total of $8,000, heartily concurred. After paying her rent, phone, electric and cable bills, Jennings can barely afford to treat herself to McDonald's. Of a recent trip to the LaCrosse, Wisconsin, Wal-Mart, she raved, "Oh boy, what a great treat. Lower prices and a good quality of clothes to choose from. It was like heaven for me." She, too, strongly defended the workers' $15,000 yearly income: "Boy, now that is a lot of money. I could live with that." She closed with a plea to the readers: "I'm sure you all make a lot more than I. And I'm sure I speak for a lot of seniors and very-low-income people. We *need* this Wal-Mart. There's nothing downtown."

From Consumers to Workers and Citizens

It is crucial that Wal-Mart's liberal and progressive critics make use of the growing public indignation at the company over sex discrimination, low pay and other workers' rights issues, but it is equally crucial to do this in ways that remind people that their power does not stop at their shopping dollars. It's admirable to drive across town and pay more for toilet paper to avoid shopping at Wal-Mart, but such a gesture is, unfortunately, not enough. As long as people identify themselves as consumers and nothing more, Wal-Mart wins.

The invention of the "consumer" identity has been an important part of a long process of eroding workers' power, and it's one reason working people now have so little power against business. According to the social historian Stuart Ewen, in the early years of mass production, the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, modernizing capitalism sought to turn people who thought of themselves primarily as "workers" into "consumers." Business elites wanted people to dream not of satisfying work and

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Nation *contributing editor Liza Featherstone is the author of* Selling Women Short: The Landmark Battle for Workers' Rights at Wal-Mart *(Basic), from which this article is adapted.*

egalitarian societies—as many did at that time—but of the beautiful things they could buy with their paychecks.

Business was quite successful in this project, which influenced much early advertising and continued throughout the twentieth century. In addition to replacing the "worker," the "consumer" has also effectively displaced the citizen. That's why, when most Americans hear about the Wal-Mart's worker-rights abuses, their first reaction is to feel guilty about shopping at the store. A tiny minority will respond by shopping elsewhere—and only a handful will take any further action. A worker might call her union and organize a picket. A citizen might write to her congressman or local newspaper, or galvanize her church and knitting circle to visit local management. A consumer makes an isolated, politically slight decision: to shop or not to shop. Most of the time, Wal-Mart has her exactly where it wants her, because the intelligent choice for anyone thinking as a consumer is not to make a political statement but to seek the best bargain and the greatest convenience.

To effectively battle corporate criminals like Wal-Mart, the public must be engaged as citizens, not merely as shoppers.

To effectively battle corporate criminals like Wal-Mart, the public must be engaged as citizens, not merely as shoppers. What kind of politics could encourage that? It's not clear that our present political parties are up to the job. Unlike so many horrible things, Wal-Mart cannot be blamed on George W. Bush. The Arkansas-based company prospered under the state's native son Bill Clinton when he was governor and President. Sam Walton and his wife, Helen, were close to the Clintons, and for several years Hillary Clinton, whose law firm represented Wal-Mart, served on the company's board of directors. Bill Clinton's "welfare reform" has provided Wal-Mart with a ready workforce of women who have no choice but to accept its poverty wages and discriminatory policies.

Still, a handful of Democratic politicians stood up to the retailer. California Assemblywoman Sally Lieber, who represents the 22nd Assembly District and is a former mayor of Mountain View, was outraged when she learned about the sex discrimination charges in *Dukes v. Wal-Mart*, and she smelled blood when, tipped off by dissatisfied workers, her office discovered that Wal-Mart was encouraging its workers to apply for public assistance, "in the middle of the worst state budget crisis in history!" California had a $38 billion deficit at the time, and Lieber was enraged that taxpayers would be subsidizing Wal-Mart's low wages, bringing new meaning to the term "corporate welfare."

Lieber was angry, too, that Wal-Mart's welfare dependence made it nearly impossible for responsible employers to compete with the retail giant. It was as if taxpayers were unknowingly funding a massive plunge to the bottom in wages and benefits—quite possibly their own. She held a press conference in July 2003, to expose Wal-Mart's welfare scam. The Wal-Mart documents—instructions explaining how to apply for food stamps, Medi-Cal (the state's healthcare assistance program) and other forms of welfare—were blown up on posterboard and displayed. The morning of the press conference, a Wal-Mart worker who wouldn't give her name for fear of being fired snuck into Lieber's office. "I just wanted to say, right on!" she told the assemblywoman.

Wal-Mart spokespeople have denied that the company encourages employees to collect public assistance, but the documents speak for themselves. They bear the Wal-Mart logo, and one is labeled "Wal-Mart: Instructions for Associates." Both documents instruct employees in procedures for applying to "Social Service Agencies." Most Wal-Mart workers I've interviewed had coworkers who worked full time for the company and received public assistance, and some had been in that situation themselves. Public assistance is very clearly part of the retailer's cost-cutting strategy. (It's ironic that a company so dependent on the public dole supports so many right-wing politicians who'd like to dismantle the welfare state.)

Lieber, a strong supporter of the social safety net who is now assistant speaker pro tempore of the California Assembly, last year passed a bill that would require large and mid-sized corporations that fail to provide decent, affordable health insurance to reimburse local governments for the cost of providing public assistance for those workers. When the bill passed, its opponents decided to kill it by bringing it to a statewide referendum. Wal-Mart, which just began opening Supercenters in California this year, mobilized its resources to revoke the law on election day this November, even while executives denied that any of their employees depended on public assistance.

Citizens should pressure other politicians to speak out against Wal-Mart's abuses and craft policy solutions. But the complicity of both parties in Wal-Mart's power over workers points to the need for a politics that squarely challenges corporate greed and takes the side of ordinary people. That kind of politics seems, at present, strongest at the local level.

Earlier this year, labor and community groups in Chicago prevented Wal-Mart from opening a store on the city's South Side, in part by pushing through an ordinance that would have forced the retailer to pay Chicago workers a living wage. In Hartford, Connecticut, labor and community advocates just won passage of an ordinance protecting their free speech rights on the grounds of the new Wal-Mart Supercenter, which is being built on city property. Similar battles are raging nationwide, but Wal-Mart's opponents don't usually act with as much coordination as Wal-Mart does, and they lack the retail behemoth's deep pockets.

With this in mind, SEIU president Andy Stern has recently been calling attention to the need for better coordination—and funding—of labor and community anti–Wal-Mart efforts. Stern has proposed that the AFL-CIO allocate $25 million of its royalties from purchases on its Union Plus credit card toward fighting Wal-Mart and the "Wal-Martization" of American jobs [see Featherstone, "Will Labor Take the Wal-Mart Challenge?" June 28].

Such efforts are essential not just because Wal-Mart is a grave threat to unionized workers' jobs (which it is) but because it threatens all American ideals that are at odds with profit—ideals such as justice, equality and fairness. Wal-Mart would not have so much power if we had stronger labor laws, and if we required employers to pay a living wage. The company knows that, and it hires lobbyists in Washington to vigorously fight any effort at such reforms—indeed, Wal-Mart has recently beefed up this political infrastructure substantially, and it's likely that its presence in Washington will only grow more conspicuous.

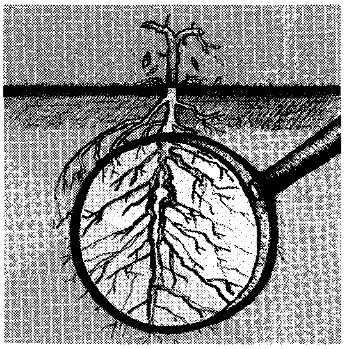
The situation won't change until a movement comes together and builds the kind of social and political power for workers and citizens that can balance that of Wal-Mart. This is not impossible: In Germany, unions are powerful enough to force Wal-Mart to play by their rules. American citizens will have to ask themselves what kind of world they want to live in. That's what prompted Gretchen Adams, a former Wal-Mart manager, to join the effort to unionize Wal-Mart. She's deeply troubled by the company's effect on the economy as a whole and the example it sets for other employers. "What about our working-class people?" she asks. "I don't want to live in a Third World country." Working people, she says, should be able to afford "a new car, a house. You shouldn't have to leave the car on the lawn because you can't afford that $45 part." ■

THE ANTI-SEMITISM OF TODAY'S EUROPE IS NOT THAT OF OUR GRANDFATHERS' GENERATION.

Goodbye to All That?

TONY JUDT

"Anti-Semitism" today is a genuine problem. It is also an illusory problem. The distinction between the two is one of those contemporary issues that most divide Europe from the United States. The overwhelming majority of Europeans abhors recent attacks on Jews and Jewish institutions and takes them very seriously. But it is generally recognized in Europe that these attacks are the product of local circumstances and are closely tied to contemporary political developments in Europe and elsewhere. Thus the increase in anti-Jewish incidents in France or Belgium is correctly attributed to young people, frequently of Muslim or Arab background, the children or grandchildren of immigrants. This is a new and disconcerting social challenge and it is far from clear how it should be addressed, beyond the provision of increased police protection. But it is not, as they say, "your grandfather's anti-Semitism."



KAREN CALDICOTT

As seen from the United States, however, Europe—especially "old," or Western, Europe—is in the grip of recidivism: reverting to type, as it were. Last February Rockwell Schnabel (the US ambassador to the European Union) spoke of anti-Semitism in Europe "getting to a point where it is as bad as it was in the 30s." In May 2002 George Will wrote in the *Washington Post* that anti-Semitism among Europeans "has become the second—and final?—phase of the struggle for a 'final solution to the Jewish Question.'" These are not isolated, hysterical instances: Among American elites as well as in the population at large, it is widely assumed that Europe, having learned nothing from its past, is once again awash in the old anti-Semitism.

The American view clearly reflects an exaggerated anxiety. The problem of anti-Semitism in Europe today is real, but it needs to be kept in proportion. According to the Stephen Roth Institute at Tel Aviv University, there were 517 anti-Semitic incidents in France in 2002 (503 in 2003) and fifty-one in Belgium (twenty-nine in 2003). These ranged from anti-Semitic graffiti on Jewish-owned shops to Molotov cocktails thrown into synagogues in Paris, Lyons and elsewhere.

Measured by everything from graffiti to violent assaults, anti-Semitism has indeed been on the increase in some European countries in recent years; but then it has in America as well. The American Anti-Defamation League reported sixty anti-Semitic incidents on US college campuses alone in 1999, 106 in 2002 and sixty-eight in 2003. The ADL recorded 1,559 anti-Semitic incidents in the United States in 2002 (1,557 in 2003), up from 906 in 1986. Even if anti-Semitic aggression in France, Belgium and elsewhere in Europe has been grievously underreported, there is no evidence to suggest that it is much more widespread in Europe than in the United States.

As for expressions of anti-Semitic opinion: Evidence from the European Union's Eurobarometer surveys, the French polling service SOFRES and the ADL's own surveys all point in the same direction. There is today in many European countries, as in the United States, a continuing tolerance for mild verbal anti-Semitism, as well as a continuing propensity to believe longstanding stereotypes about Jews: e.g., that they have a disproportionate influence in economic life. But the same polls confirm that young people all over Europe are much less tolerant of prejudice than their parents were. Among non-Muslim French youth, especially, anti-Semitic sentiment has steadily declined and is now negligible. A majority of young people questioned in France in January 2002 believed that we should speak more, not less, about the Holocaust; and nearly nine out of ten of them agreed that attacks on synagogues were "scandalous." These figures are broadly comparable to results from similar surveys taken in the United States.

The one thing on which European and American commentators can agree is that there is a link between hostility to Jews and events in the Middle East. But they draw diametrically opposed conclusions as to the meaning of this link. It is increasingly clear to observers in France, for example, that assaults on Jews in working-class suburbs of big cities are typically driven by frustration and anger at the government of Israel. Jews and Jewish institutions are a convenient and vulnerable local surrogate. Moreover, the rhetorical armory of traditional European anti-

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Semitism—the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*; Jews' purported economic power and conspiratorial networks; even blood libels—has been pressed into service by the media in Damascus, Cairo and elsewhere. Thanks to satellite television, anti-Jewish images and myths can now spread with ease across the youthful Arab diaspora.

But whereas most Europeans believe that the problem originates in the Middle East and must therefore be addressed there, the ADL and many American commentators conclude rather that there is no longer any difference between being "against" Israel and "against" Jews: i.e., that in Europe anti-Zionism and anti-Semitism have become synonymous. But that is palpably false. Some of the highest levels of pro-Palestinian sympathy in Europe today are recorded in Denmark, a country that also registers as one of the least anti-Semitic by the ADL's own criteria—and the ADL has worked harder than anyone to propagate the image of rampant European anti-Semitism. Another country with a high level of support for the Arabs of Palestine is the Netherlands; yet according to the ADL the Dutch have the lowest anti-Semitic quotient in Europe, and 83 percent of Dutch citizens believe the government should take a role in combating anti-Semitism.

Most Europeans believe the problem originates in the Middle East and must therefore be addressed there.

In other words, some of the most widespread pro-Palestinian and even anti-Zionist views are to be found in countries that have long been—and still are—decidedly philo-Semitic. And there is good evidence that Europeans have considerably more balanced views than Americans on the Israel-Palestine conflict in general. Thus, although Europeans are more likely to sympathize with the Palestinians than with Israel, they do so only by a ratio of 24:15, according to the ADL. Americans, by contrast, sympathize more with Israel than with the Palestinians, by a ratio of 55:18 (Gallup).

Europeans are also better placed to appreciate that old-style European anti-Semites were, and are, frequently quite sympathetic to Israel—and the worse Israel behaves, the fonder they become. Thus the French National Front leader Jean-Marie Le Pen, in an interview in the Israeli daily *Ha'aretz* in April 2002, expressed his "understanding" of Ariel Sharon's harsh policies ("A war on terror is a brutal thing"), comparable in his opinion to France's anti-terrorist practices in Algeria forty years earlier, which he thought were no less justified.

The source of American anxiety and confusion is the unstinting support given by the United States to Israel ($3 billion per annum and uncritical backing for all its actions), and the ensuing sentiment among many Americans that since criticism of Israel is close to impermissible, anti-Zionist opinions must be anti-Semitic in origin. Indeed, the gap separating Europeans from Americans on the question of Israel and the Palestinians is one of the biggest impediments to transatlantic understanding today.

This gulf is well illustrated in a recent essay by Omer Bartov, a distinguished professor of European history at Brown University. In a lengthy discussion of contemporary anti-Semitism published last February in *The New Republic*, Bartov argued that just as the world failed to take Hitler at his word in the 1930s, so we are underestimating or even ignoring the revival, today, of similarly virulent anti-Semitism, whose consequences might prove comparably devastating. The message of the essay was that if anti-Zionism is a camouflage for anti-Semitism (and Bartov thinks it often is), then we should call it by its real name and combat it as such. In Europe especially it has become politically correct, Bartov suggests, to ignore—or play down—expressions of anti-Semitic opinion, particularly in the academic community. The time has come, he concludes, to call a spade a spade.

Bartov himself does not make the mistake of tarring any and all criticism of Israel with the brush of anti-Semitism. But by relentlessly drawing comparisons and analogies between contemporary anti-Zionism and the anti-Jewish rhetoric of the 1930s, he ends up conflating past and present. If we were wrong seventy years ago not to take Hitler's exterminationist intentions seriously, he suggests, we are just as wrong to make any allowance for Hamas, former Malaysian Prime Minister Mahathir Mohamad (who said at a 2003 conference that "Jews rule this world by proxy"), renegade German politicians and novelists, misguided American academics, the former French ambassador to Britain (who several years ago referred to Israel as "that shitty little country") and no doubt countless others.

In Bartov's account, people might well have good reasons to criticize the policies of the Israeli government (Bartov himself is no admirer of Ariel Sharon). But those are not the reasons many of them express such criticisms. It is the hatred of Jews—Jews in Israel, Jews in Europe, Jews everywhere and always—that accounts for the virulence of the critique. The trouble with this account of the matter is, as I suggested above, that it does indeed make the relevant link between the Middle East and modern anti-Semitism, but inverts the causality.

It is the policies of Israeli governments, especially in the past two decades, that have provoked widespread anti-Jewish feelings in Europe and elsewhere. This may seem absurd, but there is a certain tragic logic to it. Zionists have always insisted that there is no distinction between the Jewish people and the Jewish state. The latter offers a right of citizenship to Jews anywhere in the world. Israel is not the state of all its citizens, much less all its residents; it is the state of (all) Jews. Its leaders purport to speak for Jews everywhere. They can hardly be surprised when their own behavior provokes a backlash against...Jews.

Thus Israel itself has made a significant contribution to the resurgence of the anti-Semitism Bartov and others describe. This is an outcome with which many Israeli politicians are far from unhappy: It retroactively justifies their own bad behavior and contributes, as they proudly assert, to a rise in the number of European Jews leaving for Israel. At a time when many Israelis are obsessed with the prospect of becoming a minority in their own enlarged territory, the inflow of Jews fleeing real or imagined persecution is an occasion for self-congratulation.

Bartov concedes a distinction between "soft-core" and "hard-core" anti-Semitism. However, he still insists that there is a single slippery slope leading from misguided academics and intellectuals to pathological murderers. Historically this may be true. But today the implications of such a conflation of different levels of criticism and prejudice are dangerously censorious. No doubt some of Israel's strongest critics do display anti-Semitic propensities. But that doesn't disqualify anti-Zionism as ipso facto anti-Semitic: As Arthur Koestler observed back in 1948, you can't help people being right for the wrong reasons. If those of us who think Israel is behaving shamefully follow Bartov's reasoning, we'll be constrained to silence for fear of being accused of complicity in anti-Semitism ourselves.

What, then, is to be done? Those of us who take seriously the problem of anti-Semitism—but who utterly reject the suggestion that we ourselves are in danger of sympathizing with anti-Semitism under the guise of anti-Zionism—must begin by constructing and defending a firewall between the two. Israel does not speak for Jews; but Israel's claim to speak for Jews everywhere is the chief reason that anti-Israel sentiments are transposed into Judeophobia. Jews and others must learn to shed inhibitions and criticize Israel's policies and actions just as they would those of any other established state.

It may be easier for Jews to take their distance from Israel's illegal acts and misguided calculations than it is for non-Jews—the latter are always vulnerable to moral blackmail by Zionists, especially in countries with anti-Semitic pasts. But we shall never be able to think straight about anti-Semitism until this firewall is in place. Once Germans, French and others can comfortably condemn Israel without an uneasy conscience, and can look their Muslim fellow citizens in the face, it will be possible to deal with the real problem. For indeed there is a problem. This is an arena in which legitimate responses shade all too readily into familiar prejudices.

Israel's claim to speak for Jews everywhere is the chief reason that anti-Israel sentiments are transposed into Judeophobia.

Thus, to take one notorious example: Critics of the foreign policy of the Bush Administration who claim that it is directed in many cases by men with close ties to Israel are not mistaken. Contemporary US foreign policy is in certain respects mortgaged to Israel. Several very senior Bush appointees spent the 1990s advising politicians of the Israeli far right. But that does not mean that "Jewish interests" run the American government, as some European and many Arab commentators have inferred and suggested. To say that Israel and its lobbyists have an excessive and disastrous influence on the policies of the world's superpower is a statement of fact. But to say that "the Jews" control America for their own ends is to espouse anti-Semitism.

Moreover, the slippage between criticism of America and dislike for Jews long antedates the founding of the state of Israel. "Anti-Americanism" and anti-Semitism have been closely interwoven at least since the 1920s, when European intellectuals looked with nervous distaste across the Atlantic and saw a rootless, predatory, commercial society, the incarnation of cosmopolitan modernity, threatening the continuity and distinctiveness of their own national cultures. Many critics of America, in Germany or France or Russia, were all too quick to identify the shifting, unfamiliar contours of an Americanizing world with the essential traits of a homeless Jewry. The link with Israel is new, but the image of "Jewish" America is an old story and a troubling one.

Or, to take an even more sensitive instance: The Shoah is frequently exploited in America and Israel to deflect and forbid any criticism of Israel. Indeed, the Holocaust of Europe's Jews is nowadays exploited thrice over: It gives American Jews in particular a unique, retrospective "victim identity"; it allows Israel to trump any other nation's sufferings (and justify its own excesses) with the claim that the Jewish catastrophe was unique and incomparable; and (in contradiction to the first two) it is adduced as an all-purpose metaphor for evil—anywhere, everywhere and always—and taught to schoolchildren all over America and Europe without any reference to context or cause.

This modern instrumentalization of the Holocaust for political advantage is ethically disreputable and politically imprudent. To deplore this abuse of other people's sufferings seems to me an important civic duty. But to conclude that "the Jews" have made too much of what happened in Europe between 1933 and 1945, or that it is now time to move on—that edges us much closer to anti-Semitism.

This brings us to a related and equally sensitive issue. Among European intellectuals and artists—in Germany, for example—anti-Semitism occasionally surfaces in discussions of how to speak openly about the unmanaged past. Why, people ask, after all these years should we not speak of the burning of Germany's cities, or the sinking of refugee boats, or even the uncomfortable fact that life in Hitler's Germany—for Germans—was far from unpleasant, at least until the last years of World War II? Because of what Germany did to the Jews? But we've spoken of this for decades—the Federal Republic is one of the most philo-Semitic nations in the world; for how much longer must we (Germans) look over our shoulder? Will the Jews never just forgive us and let everyone move on? As this last question suggests, what begins as the search for historical honesty risks ending perilously close to resentment at "the Jews."

In formerly Communist countries one frequently encounters resentment and perplexity, among well-informed and educated people, at the West's failure to understand the enormity of the crimes of Communism. "Why won't you compare Nazism to Communism?" they ask. There are a number of answers that one might offer, but the question is not unreasonable, especially when posed by Communism's victims. And it must be addressed openly, lest the citizens of Eastern Europe tell themselves what a number of intellectuals in Romania, Hungary and elsewhere have already openly suggested: that the reason we in the West reject the comparison is that Nazism persecuted Jews above all, and it is Jews who set the international agenda for remorse, retribution and reparation. Once again, anti-Semitism emerges as the bastard child of otherwise reasonable political preoccupations.

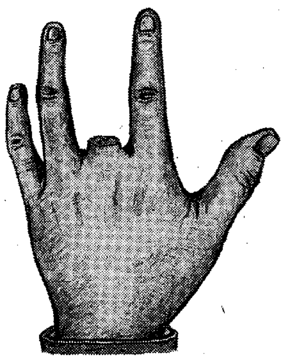
There is no simple answer to the dilemmas raised by such issues. Somehow we need to juggle the need to speak honestly and openly about present politics and past sufferings without either imposing silences or legitimizing the resurrection of prejudices. In my view it is incumbent upon Jews in particular—Jewish writers, Jewish intellectuals, Jewish scholars—to address these contested and disconcerting problems. Because Jewish critics of Israel are less vulnerable to moral blackmail from Israel's defenders, they should be in the forefront of public discussion of the Middle East, in America and Europe alike.

Similarly, Jewish commentators need to take the lead in opening up difficult and uncomfortable conversations about the past—and the present—in Europe. Public discussion in Germany especially, but elsewhere too, is often trapped between politically correct evasions and resentful "taboo-breaking." The majority's fear of offending Jewish sensibilities arouses a growing minority's desire to do just that. We can never "normalize" the European history of anti-Semitism, nor should we. But if the charge of "anti-Semitism" remains suspended like Damocles' sword across the European public space—as it is today across much of America—we shall all fall silent. And between controversial debate and fearful silence we would be well advised to choose the former. Silence is always a mistake. ■

THE CORPORATE AGENDA IS PULLING THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY OUT OF THE MAINSTREAM.

Debunking 'Centrism'

DAVID SIROTA


KAREN CALDICOTT

Looking out over Washington, DC, from his plush office, Al From is once again foaming at the mouth. The CEO of the corporate-sponsored Democratic Leadership Council and his wealthy cronies are in their regular postelection attack mode. Despite wins by economic populists in red states like Colorado and Montana this year, the DLC is claiming like a broken record that progressive policies are hurting the Democratic Party.

From's group is funded by huge contributions from multinationals like Philip Morris, Texaco, Enron and Merck, which have all, at one point or another, slathered the DLC with cash. Those resources have been used to push a nakedly corporate agenda under the guise of "centrism" while allowing the DLC to parrot GOP criticism of populist Democrats as far-left extremists. Worse, the mainstream media follow suit, characterizing progressive positions on everything from trade to healthcare to taxes as ultra-liberal. As the AP recently claimed, "party liberals argue that the party must energize its base by moving to the left" while "the DLC and other centrist groups argue that the party must court moderates and find a way to compete in the Midwest and South."

Is this really true? Is a corporate agenda really "centrism"? Or is it only "centrist" among Washington's media elite, influence peddlers and out-of-touch political class?

The *American Heritage Dictionary* defines "centrism" as "the political philosophy of avoiding the extremes of right and left by taking a moderate position." So to find out what is really "mainstream," the best place to look is public polling data.

Let's start with economic policy. The DLC and the press claim Democrats who attack President Bush and the Republicans for siding with the superwealthy are waging "class warfare," which they claim will hurt Democrats at the ballot box. Yet almost every major poll shows Americans already essentially believe Republicans are waging a class war on behalf of the rich—they are simply waiting for a national party to give voice to the issue. In March 2004, for example, a *Washington Post* poll found a whopping 67 percent of Americans believe the Bush Administration favors large corporations over the middle class.

The "centrists" tell Democrats not to hammer corporations for their misbehavior and not to push for a serious crackdown on corporate excess, for fear the party will be hurt by an "anti-business" image. Yet such a posture, pioneered by New York State Attorney General Eliot Spitzer, is mainstream: A 2002 *Washington Post* poll taken during the height of the corporate accounting scandals found that 88 percent of Americans distrust corporate executives, 90 percent want new corporate regulations/tougher enforcement of existing laws and more than half think the Bush Administration is "not tough enough" in fighting corporate crime.

On taxes, self-described "centrists" like Senator Joe Lieberman, a senior DLC leader, attacked proposals to repeal the Bush tax cuts to pay down the deficit. Yet even the DLC's pollster found in 2001 that a majority of Americans support such a policy, and that a strong plurality of voters would actually be more likely to vote for a Democrat who endorsed this proposal. Lieberman caricatured those in favor of repeal as extreme, claiming a repeal would alienate millions of voters who supposedly feel the tax cut helped them. Yet a September 2004 CBS News poll found that 72 percent of Americans say they have either not been affected by the Bush tax cuts or that their taxes have actually gone up.

On healthcare, we are led to believe that it is a "liberal," "left" or "socialist" position to support a single-payer system that would provide universal coverage to all Americans. But if you believe the *Washington Post*, that would mean America was some sort of hippie commune. The newspaper's 2003 national poll found that almost two-thirds of Americans say they prefer a universal healthcare system "that's run by the government and financed by taxpayers" as opposed to the current private, for-profit system.

Same thing with prescription drugs. DLCers like Senators John Breaux and Evan Bayh, who both pocket thousands from the pharmaceutical industry, have vehemently opposed bipartisan legislation allowing Americans to import lower-priced, FDA-approved medicines from Canada. But polls consistently show overwhelming support for the proposal. A March 2004 AP poll, for instance,

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David Sirota, the former top spokesman for Democrats on the House Appropriations Committee, recently worked as a senior strategist on Brian Schweitzer's successful campaign for governor of Montana.

showed that two-thirds of Americans favor making it "easier for people to buy prescription drugs from Canada or other countries at lower cost." The measure is so popular among average Americans that even some ardent Republicans like Senator Trent Lott have been embarrassed into supporting it. But apparently the same can't be said for some corporate factions of the Democratic Party.

On energy policy, those who want government to mandate higher fuel efficiency in cars are labeled "lefties," even though a 2004 Consumers Union poll found that 81 percent of Americans support the policy. Corporate apologists claim this "extremist" policy would hurt Democrats in places like Michigan, where the automobile manufacturers employ thousands. But the Sierra Club's 2004 polling finds more than three-quarters of Michigan voters support it—including 84 percent of the state's autoworkers.

Even in the face of massive job loss and outsourcing, the media are still labeling corporate Democrats' support for free trade as "centrist." And the DLC, which led the fight for NAFTA and the China trade deal, attacks those who want to renegotiate those pacts as just a marginal group of "protectionists." Yet a January 2004 PIPA/University of Maryland poll found that "a majority [of the American public] is critical of US government trade policy." A 1999 poll done on the five-year anniversary of the North American trade deal was even more telling: Only 24 percent of Americans said they wanted to "continue the NAFTA agreement." The public outrage at trade deals has been so severe, pollster Steve Kull noted, that support dropped even among upper-income Americans "who've most avidly supported trade and globalization [and] who've taken the lead in pushing the free-trade agenda forward."

Despite this overwhelming evidence, Washington, DC, Democrats apparently have not gotten the message that their current definition of "centrism" is actually pulling the party further and further out of the mainstream. Instead, insiders are doing their best ostrich imitation: putting their heads in the sand, pretending nothing is wrong and continuing down the same path that sells out America's working class—the demographic that used to be the party's base.

For instance, the DLC has issued a "heartland strategy," telling Democrats to jettison economic populism, which has been used to elect Democrats in various red regions in America. Their solution? "Talk more about reducing teen pregnancy and out-of-wedlock births, which have led to an expansion of single-parent families beset by poverty, welfare dependence, and other social ills." Above all else, they caution, do not turn up "the volume on anti-business and class warfare themes"—a euphemism for not discussing DLC-backed free-trade policies that have ravaged economies throughout the heartland. The strategy conveniently avoids the issues that might make the DLC's corporate backers uncomfortable.

Now an effort is under way to set this faux "centrism" in stone. One of the leading candidates for Democratic National Committee chairman is Simon Rosenberg, a former free-trade lobbyist and head of the business-backed New Democrat Network. His group is joined by even more organizations designed to push the party to the right. The *Washington Post* reports that a group calling itself the "Third Way" (read: "Wrong Way") is forming to tout "centrist" policies for Democrats. Instead of leaving the Beltway and holding a town meeting to gauge the pulse of red America's working-class core, the group held its initial meeting "over dinner at a Georgetown mansion." Instead of engaging in grassroots funding efforts, it is openly relying on corporate contributions.

"The answer to the ideological extremes of the right has to be more than rigid dogma from the left," said Senator Bayh, a leader of the new group and one of Washington's most highly trumpeted "centrists." But really, who is pushing a rigid dogma: these bankrolled politicians who have hijacked "centrism" to sell out America's middle class, or the progressive populists who most often have the backing of the American people? ■

LETTERS
CONTINUED

(Continued From Page 2)
democracy. That's still in the streets and the voting booth. Arif Mamdani, Mark Sherman
Progressive Technology Project

Tucson

■ Micah Sifry's optimism about the power of the Internet to democratize progressive politics is undercut by his own excellent survey of the election. He accurately characterizes MoveOn as "top-down" and giving its members "little ability to talk to each other directly"; the Democratic Party as interested in the Internet mostly for fundraising; and Internet users as white middle- and upper-income professionals. Indeed, the MoveOn meetings I attended here in Tucson were overwhelmingly white, despite our large Latino population.

Instead, the progressive movement has to bring more volunteers face to face, letting us listen to one another's feelings—not just our ideas—encourage individual initiative over top-down directives and deal directly with the racism, sexism, homophobia and other "isms" that divide us. Most progressive organizers would agree, but too often fall back on paid staff making superficial contacts with members for actions largely determined by funding sources.

The Internet can accentuate these tendencies toward superficiality and isolation—white men blogging! By contrast, conservative churches have long recognized the importance of bringing their supporters together in small, face-to-face groups where they can get their social needs met. Ideally, progressive groups would use the Internet in conjunction with this kind of vital face-to-face interaction. Jim Driscoll
www.deep-democracy.us

Portland, Ore.

■ Micah Sifry lauds the new open-source politics—the brightest light in the otherwise dark landscape. Now we have to be sure we don't squander the incredible energy we've generated. We should build a partylike structure out of all the MoveOn and ACT volunteers, SEIU heroes, Deaniacs, progressive Democrats, Greens and Independent blue voters. We don't need to build a real party just yet, since third parties are relegated to the spoiler role. But we could learn from the Working Families Party in New York. We should not get drawn into the culture-war trap Karl Rove has set for us. We should stick to issues of public morality and civic virtue and come up with a simple platform—support for public education, infrastructure for a sustainable economy, universal preventive healthcare.

We should pool our money and find, train and support candidates who will stand by our issues. We should prepare for 2006, not 2008. We must start electing people—state legislators, governors, county commissioners and school board members as well as members of Congress. And we need a litmus test, damn it! We have a lot of work to do. We will prove we are right, state by state. Barbara Dudley

(Continued From Page 8)

governments and businesses behind a green jobs and growth strategy—as an example of the new thinking that's necessary.) Hal Harvey, who heads the Hewlett Foundation's environmental program, says that if Shellenberger and Nordhaus's "strategies were five times stronger and their invective five times weaker, they would have much more effect."

"The implication is that had we tried nicely to have this debate, everything would have gone fine," responds Nordhaus. "Bullshit! This was the only way to get their attention. We're saying there's a dead body in the room, and it's starting to stink. They're saying it's not dead. Did we stir things up? Yes. And we're proud of it."

MARK HERTSGAARD

Mark Hertsgaard, The Nation*'s environment correspondent, is the author, most recently, of* Earth Odyssey: Around the World in Search of Our Environmental Future *and* The Eagle's Shadow: Why America Fascinates and Infuriates the World.

Red Sluts, Blue Sluts

The first pop phenomenon since the election is that salacious howler of a prime-time soap called *Desperate Housewives*. At this writing, it's the top-rated show on television, and the media are galvanized by its success at a time when red-state reverence is seeping into everything.

Despite its gleeful attitude toward fornication, this show is popular in Bush country. It even grabs men who never watch such sudsy stuff. One reason is its subject: babes behaving badly. These sexy suburban sisters don't have faggot friends—or careers, like most women in sitcoms today. And this trad but funky set-up suits the *Monday Night Football* crowd just fine (as the risqué locker-room visit by one of the show's stars, Nicollette Sheridan, attests). Yet *Housewives* also appeals to gay men and feminists: the *Sex and the City* set. How can the same package attract such a diverse audience? Even more remarkably, how can it succeed in such a chastened cultural climate?

At first glance, *Housewives* is a pungent rebellion against the ideal of America the Wholesome. Set in the proverbial suburban byway of Wisteria Lane, the show features more unhappy couples than a Doctor Phil special. With a knowing smirk, it showcases infidelity, treachery and outright schadenfreude. If that sounds like a scathing indictment of Bush time, it also plays as a critique of Godless narcissism. This two-edged tenor is what allows the show to cross over from red to blue. *Housewives* is liberal on the surface but conservative at the core.

The show's creator, Marc Cherry, calls himself a Republican. But that didn't stop him from honing his skills on *The Golden Girls*, a vastly popular sitcom in 1985 (and a harbinger of the Clinton years, if you ask me). It revolved around a group of sexually active retired women, a radical premise back then and a frisson even now. Thirteen years later, *Sex and the City* turned this formula into the definitive hip urban comedy of the '90s. The women in both shows never paid for their sins, though they struggled with the complications of their lives. Through it all, they maintained an antic, lusty attitude and a real sense of sisterhood. That's still the stance of liberal sitcoms.

But conservative eras instill a much harsher mood. To meet that demand, Cherry took the libidinous style of *Sex and the City* and combined it with the breathy excess of Reagan-era dramas like *Dallas* and *Dynasty*. Now that spirit is back, with blazing push-up bras. *Desperate Housewives* has the same lurid venality, the same cartoony ambience and the same over-the-top bitchiness. Its tone is titillating rather than droll. Its characters inspire ridicule rather than empathy. Their transgressions are sinful rather than soulful. And a sense of imminent retribution hovers over Wisteria Lane like the *Satan ex machina* in a cautionary tale.

Religious conservatives are perfectly willing to be entertained by immorality; they only require that it be punished, at least eventually. As for wives who trespass against their husbands, bring 'em on—as long as they act like sluts rather than sexual adventurers. Such creatures are inevitable in a world where faith has been forgotten along with the knowledge of right and wrong. If that's your take on *Housewives*, it can be relished as a sendup of the polluted world.

But as all successful producers know, the people of God aren't the only ones who watch TV. So do the Bush-hating multitudes, and they buy stuff—especially those who belong to the feminazi bicoastal elite. They, too, must be entertained. The trick is to enchant viewers on both sides of the cultural divide. Men like Cherry are expert at that task. They have mastered the art of mixing tropes to convey a double meaning. Their most successful products shimmer with moral ambiguity. Certainly that's the case for *Desperate Housewives*, as it will be for the imitators that are bound to flow from its success.

While the creators of this show understand the golden conservative rule of sinful pleasure—it must beget ruination—on TV this could take many seasons, and meanwhile everyone can focus on the hot means to that hellish end. For different reasons, secular humanists and fundamentalists alike can revel in the foibles of idle, affluent housewives. The right can view the show's sexual politics—women competing for men, men struggling for dominance over their wives—as fidelity to the patriarchal code, while lefties can see the same thing as camp. What's more, a babe is a babe, a hunk is a hunk, and the joys of watching their unseemly meeting cross party lines.

A generation ago, the prime-time mantra was "Who shot J.R.?" Now it's "Why did Mary Alice Young kill herself?" Her girlfriends are dying to know, but we're more interested in whether Gabrielle Solis, the Latina hussy who can't keep her hands off the young gardener, *can* keep his misgivings and her husband's suspicions in check. Can Bree Van De Kamp save her marriage by finding the ho within? What evil lies in the slatternly heart of Edie Britt? And will Gabrielle's nosy mother-in-law, the victim of a hit-and-run by Bree's self-centered son, ever recover to tell her tale? Stay tuned—and enjoy the show. Just don't take it as a hopeful sign.

RICHARD GOLDSTEIN

Richard Goldstein writes about the connections between pop culture, politics and sexuality. The Golden Girls *and* Sex and the City *are available on DVD.* Desperate Housewives *airs Sundays at 9 PM EST on ABC.*

The Literary World System

WILLIAM DERESIEWICZ

THE WORLD REPUBLIC OF LETTERS.
By Pascale Casanova.
Translated by M.B. DeBevoise.
Harvard. 402 pp. $35.

What are you doing? I mean, right now. You're reading a book review. A review of a book that, as it happens, is almost certain to become quite famous among intellectuals around the world over the next few years. And the reason it will become so famous is, in part, because of reviews like this one. After all, Perry Anderson, writing in the *London Review of Books*, has proclaimed that *La République mondiale des lettres* "is likely to have the same sort of liberating impact...as Said's *Orientalism*, with which it stands comparison"—a prophecy that, because it is by Perry Anderson, and because it is the *London Review of Books*, is, to an extent, self-fulfilling. So by reading this review—becoming one of the people who've heard of the book, who've begun to form an opinion about it, who might even buy it, read it, discuss it, cite it—you're not only learning about its impending fame, you're becoming part of the process by which that fame is established, a process the book itself calls "legitimation." (Translation, the act that has turned *La République mondiale des lettres* into *The World Republic of Letters*, is another step in that process.) And this is perfectly apt, because the mechanisms of legitimation—the global economy of prestige that ushers some authors into the international literary sphere while keeping others shut out—is exactly what Pascale Casanova's brilliant, groundbreaking book is all about.

To understand why it's groundbreaking, it helps to know how the international literary sphere is usually thought about—or rather, not thought about. Academic departments, literary academies, histories and reference works, honors and prizes: The institutions of literary life almost invariably partition the world of literature into discrete, autonomous national traditions—English over here, American over there; Italian in this classroom, Spanish in that; German Romanticism, French Symbolism, the Russian novel. Even the Nobel Prize, our one global literary honor, makes a point of emphasizing the national provenance of its laureates, so that it is understood that it is often a country as much as an author that is being recognized, and that the consecration of, say, a Saramago, shuts the door on all other Portuguese writers for the foreseeable future. As for the books that enter our national literary space from the outside (especially from outside the English-speaking world), do we ever think about why some reach us and not others? Where do translated writers "come from"? Are they simply the most celebrated authors in their own countries? (In fact, they often aren't.) If we think about these questions at all, we probably assume that the writers we become aware of are just better than the ones we don't. (But "better" according to what criteria, enforced by whom?) In other words, we've bought into the myth of an international literary meritocracy, or, in Casanova's words, "the fable of an enchanted world...where universality reigns through liberty and equality...the notion of literature as something pure, free, and universal."

Casanova argues that a 'world republic of letters' emerged with the rise of the modern world system. Its capital? Paris, **bien sûr.**

Casanova's work amounts to a radical remapping of global literary space—which means, first of all, the recognition that there *is* a global literary space. Her insights build on world systems theory, the idea, developed by Fernand Braudel and Immanuel Wallerstein, that the capitalist economy that has emerged since about 1500 must be understood as a single global system

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William Deresiewicz teaches English at Yale. His book Jane Austen and the Romantic Poets *has just come out from Columbia.*

of interlinked national economies. Some of these economies belong to the ruling "core," others to the dependent "periphery," but none can coherently be studied as a discrete entity. Casanova, a scholar at the Center for Research in Arts and Language in Paris, argues, convincingly, that an analogous literary system, a "world republic of letters," has gradually taken shape since around the same time. In her analysis, a core group of nations—France, England and the founders of other "major" European literatures—having built up large reserves of "literary capital" over the past several centuries, control the means of cultural legitimation for the countries of the global literary periphery—a region that, as in the capitalist world system, has grown ever larger over the past two centuries with, first, the rise of European nationalism and, second, decolonization, as nations without previous literary standing, and writers from those nations, have sought international validation. And the capital of the world republic of letters, the place to which even other countries of the core must look for ultimate consecration and the global reputation it brings, is Paris.

For well over a century, literary innovation has been driven by the hunger of marginalized writers for international acceptance.

That last idea might damage the English speaker's *amour-propre*, but our self-esteem should be diminished even more by the evidence Casanova marshals to support her thesis. For it is an ongoing source of shame that so many of the finest exponents even of our own literature were acclaimed in Paris while still virtually unknown in London and New York. Faulkner, without a name in the United States until just three years before winning the 1949 Nobel Prize, was celebrated in France from as early as 1931. Joyce, though already recognized within the avant-garde, was unable to find a publisher for *Ulysses* until the book was taken up by the great French translator Valery Larbaud. In later years, *Tropic of Cancer*, *Lolita* and *Naked Lunch* would join the list of pathbreaking English-language novels first published in Paris. It was also through France that much of English literature found an international audience. Casanova lists Shakespeare, Scott, Byron and Poe among the authors whose works were long read in French translation, or translations based on the French, throughout Europe and Latin America. This isn't true just of English literature, of course, but of all literature, which is why Paris has been the capital of literary exiles for the past two centuries. And it is also why Paris is the answer to the question of where translated writers "come from." Borges and Kundera are just two of the many authors who became known in the English-speaking world—and the world in general—only after being consecrated by Paris.

How did this state of affairs come about? Casanova traces the emergence of an international literary sphere to Joachim du Bellay's 1549 essay "The Defense and Illustration of the French Language," which amounted, as she puts it, to a "declaration of war against the domination of Latin." Over the ensuing century and a half, France built up its "literary assets" through, among other means, the translation and imitation of classical models, linguistic standardization and purification, and the refinement of poetic forms and meters, so that by the reign of Louis XIV—the age of Pascal, Molière and Racine—French had accomplished the unthinkable, displacing Latin as the language of literary classicism. As a consequence, Casanova claims, English and other national literary identities emerged in competition with France. Finally, with the awakening to consciousness of nations like Germany—nations that, unlike England, Spain or Italy, had no literary heritage such as would allow them to compete with France on its own, classical terms—a new means of accumulating literary assets emerged. This was the path first articulated by Herder, the eighteenth-century German philosopher and great champion of folk culture: Instead of deriving from classical antiquity, literary capital would now originate in a nation's unique soul or "genius," as expressed in its traditional oral culture—an idea that would prove crucial not only for the emerging nations of Europe during the nineteenth century but for the postcolonial world today.

Whatever the terms under which it was conducted, however, it was this rivalry among national literatures that led to the creation of an international literary space. Indeed, it led, one might say, to the creation of literature itself—literature as an autonomous realm—for it was, paradoxically, through this same struggle that literary values were asserted independently of national political and moral agendas. By constituting a transnational sphere in which literature could be judged on its own terms, this rivalry enabled writers to appeal beyond their national publics, with their invariably conservative values. It made possible, in other words, the creation of an avant-garde. (And it is because of its unique hospitality to the avant-garde that Paris has endured as the world's literary center.) Here is where Casanova parts company with the historicism that has swept literary studies over the past two decades. Rather than tying literary phenomena to underlying social and political developments, she charts an autonomous history for literature itself. The world republic of letters is governed by its own rules, keeps time by its own historical clock, partitions the world according to its own map and features its own economics, its own inequalities and its own forms of violence.

Casanova devotes the second half of her book to exploring the means by which writers from the literary periphery have sought to break into the center—a myriad of struggles whose existence has heretofore been concealed by "the fable of an enchanted world...where universality reigns through liberty and equality." The breadth of her scholarship here is staggering: from South America to North Africa, Eastern Europe to East Asia; from the emergent Modernism of Ibsen and Yeats to the most recent postcolonial hybridities; from "assimilationists" like Naipaul and Cioran to "rebels" like Neruda and Achebe.

Aside from the uncanny consistency of these strategies across time and space—a consistency the recognition of which ought to have a liberating effect on writers working in the loneliness of peripheral obscurity—two overriding ideas emerge. First, that for well over a century literary innovation has been driven almost exclusively by the hunger of marginalized writers for international acceptance. Ibsen, Joyce, Faulkner, Beckett, Borges, García Márquez, Rushdie: By making themselves even more modern than Paris, the "Greenwich meridian" of literary modernity, these great revolutionaries remade the center in their own image, setting the standards of avant-garde practice for writers the world over. Second, that for all the inequalities of its imperial structure, the international literary sphere itself plays a liberating as much as a dominating role. Even as it forces writers from marginalized countries to submit to its norms as the price of recognition, it also frees them from domination by their countries' own nation-building projects and moral and aesthetic prejudices. Ibsen appealed to Paris and

London in his struggle against Christiania; Joyce leveraged Paris against both Dublin and London.

Casanova's reluctance to acknowledge the positive dimensions of the international literary sphere is one of the book's flaws. That reluctance is ultimately a failure to come to terms with her own ambivalence, a failure that smacks of political correctness. On the one hand, she seeks, admirably, to serve the world's marginalized writers by restoring the "political and historical specificity" of their work, thus debunking the notion of literary universality as a product of the "inherent blindnesses of the consecrating authorities." On the other hand, equally to her credit, she clearly cherishes the notion of literary universality, of literary values that transcend political and historical particulars. Granted that her ultimate goal is "a new literary universality," rejecting her own impulses leads her to sequester some important truths. First, that writers at the center are also capable of revolutionary innovation; Modernism began in France, after all, and Frenchmen like Proust and Robbe-Grillet continued to play important roles throughout most of the twentieth century. Second, that peripheral innovation "liberates" the center as much as it does the rest of the world; only in a footnote does she admit, for example, that Claude Simon was as much Faulkner's disciple as was García Márquez. A less doctrinaire, more dialectical understanding of relations between center and periphery is clearly needed.

Casanova is also surprisingly enamored of the great-man model of historical causation. Without du Bellay and Herder, apparently, literary history would have been completely different. Indeed, her whole account of the initial emergence of the international literary sphere, from the sixteenth through the eighteenth centuries, is sketchy and dubious. Her Francocentrism requires her to minimize Dante's *De vulgari eloquentia*, a defense of the vernacular that preceded du Bellay by two and a half centuries, as well as to obscure the monumental achievements of sixteenth-century Italian literature—Ariosto, Tasso, Machiavelli, Castiglione—that ultimately flowed from it. And far from English literary identity's emerging in competition with France during the eighteenth century (if anything, cultural admiration traveled the other way at the time), we already find the language being defended as equal to Latin, Spanish, French and Italian around the time of du Bellay—a truer picture of the international literary space that had already begun to emerge during the Renaissance. Indeed, for all her remarkable knowledge of global literary developments, Casanova is surprisingly, even laughably, ignorant of the English literary scene, asserting at one point that Shakespeare had not yet become canonical by the turn of the twentieth century (about two centuries too late) because he was considered "subversive." Given that Britain has been France's great rival for literary preeminence over the past 400 years, this ignorance is rather too perfectly ironic.

Still, the main thrust of Casanova's argument, which covers roughly the last century and a half, is unimpeachable. She has created a map of global literary power relations where none had existed, and she has raised a host of further questions. What exactly are the mechanisms and institutions of legitimation? Just how important, for example, are book reviewers like me and readers like you? How applicable is her model to power relations within individual countries? What kinds of self-betrayals, for example, does New York exact, and what kinds of resistance does it provoke, from writers from the American hinterland? How relevant is her model to the other arts? (Undoubtedly, very much so.) Most important, how relevant is it to the world of today? Casanova herself acknowledges, in a brief chapter that feels like a late insertion, that the system of literary internationalism governed from Paris may have already given way to one of commercial globalization controlled by mostly American publishing conglomerates. With the development of mass-produced, globally marketed literary product that mimics, as Casanova puts it, the style of Modernism—she mentions "world fiction" like the novels of Umberto Eco and David Lodge, to which one might add the many books that piggyback on established literary "brands" (The Dante Club, The Jane Austen Book Club, Anna in the Tropics, etc.)—true literature, like everything else of any value, may be on its way to being replaced by a clever simulacrum of itself.

But the most important question her book raises, for me at least, is simply this: Why are we so lame? Why is American culture, and the American intelligentsia in particular, so closed off from what's happening in the rest of the world? Why do we still need Paris to tell us what's going on (if we still even listen to it)? If anything, the situation is more dire than it used to be, when instability or repression in Europe supplied us with a steady stream of émigrés who acted as a bridge back to their former world. Susan Sontag used to play a similar role, but she no longer does, and no one's taken her place. The more we impose our image on the world, it seems, the more foreign the world becomes. ■

An Arab Surrealist

ROBERT IRWIN

IDENTITÉ INACHEVÉE. By Adonis. Éditions du Rocher. 84 pp. 11.50 Euros.

TOUCHER LA LUMIÈRE. By Adonis. Edited and translated by Anne Wade Minkowski. Imprimerie Nationale. 212 pp. Paper 25 Euros.

IF ONLY THE SEA COULD SLEEP: Love Poems. By Adonis. Translated by Kamal Boullata, Susan Einbinder and Mirène Ghossein. Green Integer. 156 pp. $11.95.

The Springs of Adonis (now also known as the River Ibrahim) run through the Byblos region of Lebanon down through steep gorges to the Mediterranean. Iron ore deposits stain its waters red at times of flood. The cult of Adonis used to be celebrated in a temple close by. The beautiful youth Adonis, who was loved by the goddess Astarte, went out hunting despite her warnings and was gored to death by a boar. But after long supplications, Astarte succeeded in securing his release from the underworld for half the year. The rituals of Adonis, of resurrection and the return of spring, were observed in Greater Syria for millennia. It seems that even in medieval Islamic times the return of Adonis to this world was still being celebrated in remote villages. Legends concerning Adonis and other figures from pagan Syrian lore were to figure largely in the quasi-mystical rhetoric of Syrian nationalism in the 1940s and '50s.

Robert Irwin is the author of six novels and five works of nonfiction, of which the most recent is The Alhambra *(Harvard University Press). He is also Middle East editor of the* Times Literary Supplement *and a Fellow of the Royal Society of Literature.*

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The poet 'Ali Ahmad Sa'id, who was later to assume the pen-name Adonis, was born in 1930 and grew up in the Latakia region of Syria in a remote little village called Qasibin, some 150 miles to the north of the ancient cultic center of the rites of Adonis. The area around Qasibin was and mostly still is agricultural, impoverished, largely illiterate and remote from centers of urban civilization. Until he was 12, the boy who was to grow up to become a globe-trotting poet on the Nobel short list never saw a car or a radio. Reflecting on his origins in *Identité Inachevée* ("Unrealized Identity"), a collection of interviews, Adonis remarks that he never had a childhood, since from an early age he was put to work in the fields. But in the evenings his father recited poetry, much of it mystical, and kept the boy at work memorizing this poetry. In the daytime, in the hills, the boy began to compose poetry of his own.

Then one day he heard that Shukri al-Quwatli, who in 1947 had become the first president of Syria after it gained its independence from France, was visiting a town in the Latakia region to perform an official ceremony of some sort. The boy, determined to impress the president with his poetry, walked miles over the hills but arrived late at the official function. Nevertheless, he successfully begged to be allowed to read his poem to the president. When the boy had finished, the president, impressed, asked him what he would like as a reward. "I want an education," the boy replied. Thereafter he went to school in Latakia, where he began to sign his poems under the name Adonis, and then to university in Damascus, where he produced a thesis on Sufi mysticism. In Damascus he became involved with Antun Sa'ada and his Syrian National Party. This party put Syria and its legends and history before pan-Arabism or Islamism. The charismatic Sa'ada put forward quasi-fascistic arguments for the future destiny of a Greater Syria (so great that it was to include Palestine, Lebanon, Cyprus and even Iraq, which was to be redesignated Eastern Syria). After a failed attempt at a coup in Lebanon, Sa'ada was executed in 1949. In 1956 Adonis himself ran afoul of the Syrian government and went into exile in Beirut, where a year later he founded the magazine *Shi'r* ("Poetry") with the Syro-Lebanese poet Yusuf al-Khal, another former follower of Sa'ada. In the 1980s, the civil war in Lebanon would in turn drive him into a second exile, in Paris. It is not surprising that the theme of exile pervades his poetry.

Once he had moved to Beirut, Adonis abandoned the cause of a Greater Syria and turned instead to pan-Arabism. But from then on, conventional politics ceased to play such a large part in his thoughts. At university in Damascus, he had discovered the Surrealists and the French literary ancestors of the Surrealists. This in turn led him back to the Arab poetical heritage. As Adonis noted in his brilliant *Introduction to Arab Poetics* (originally published in 1985 and available in an English translation), it

> was reading Baudelaire which changed my understanding of Abu Nuwas and revealed his particular poetical quality and modernity, and Mallarmé's work which explained to me the mysteries of Abu Tammam's poetic language and the modern dimension in it. My reading of Rimbaud, Nerval and Breton led me to discover the poetry of the mystic writers in all its uniqueness and splendour.

Although Persian literature has a rich heritage of mystical poetry, by Hafiz, Rumi, al-'Attar and others, most of medieval Arabic mystical poetry is pietistic, cliché-bound and frankly dreary. But "that divine madman," al-Niffari, a somewhat obscure tenth-century Iraqi mystic, is an exceptional figure in the history of

(Continued on Page 37)

THE NATION ASSOCIATES HONOR ROLL 2004-2005

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. Cohen • Clark Cohen
Cohen • T. Cohen, M.
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• Colin and Marg
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Timothy A. Conway • Ms. Nancy Conzet
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nna Crane • Gary Crane •
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ndrew Creer • Don Creery
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• Mr-mrs A Ran Curran •
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is Czitrom • Orlando A. D Silv
Dahlman • Arthur and Ruth D
• Richar rald Dalton • Mary E. Dalton •
C. George Dandrow • William

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Richard Chmielecki • Paul S. Chmiko • Donald Choffel • Sandra
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radley V. Clark • Cliffor
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oudman • Faith Clove
hougher • Norma Coc
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en • Marshall and Ka
t Colapietro • Jerry C
effrey Coleman • Kath
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Marie Conner • Cathe
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oray and Phillip B. Co ll • Lise N. Cordein
am Corman and Bobb lvira C. Corneau
• Kathleen Corrigan an • Joe and
• Alice Coss • Charle Carla Costa
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Marilyn and Edward Joseph
B. Cox • Barbara C ox •
heodore Coxe • Mr. F
e Cramer • Marion C
, Sr. • Mary Cravens
t Crebs • Carolyn Cre
Crider • Donald F. Cri
H. Crocker • Christop
Crosby • Robert Cros
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• Charles Cunninghan
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Joan Cutting • Janice B. Cw
M. Daggett • Ates Dagli • Madel
Dale • Terry Dale • Tracy Dale • M. D'Ales
ammann • Nancy Dammann • Edward K. Damon • Dr Roberta Damo

[illegible]

[illegible] • James E. Evans • Joe Patrick Evans • [illegible]

[illegible] Evenson • James A. Everett • June Everett • June B. Everett • [illegible] • Stockwell

[illegible] • Richard Eylers • [illegible] • David and Ruth Ezekiel • Jonathan Ezekiel • [illegible]

[illegible] • Patricia Bodio Fahy • [illegible] • Dr. & Mrs. William L. Fair • [illegible]

[illegible] • Cheryl Fallick • Mr. E. [illegible] • Donald and Kathleen [illegible]

ton W[illegible] • Cheryl Faris • James [illegible] • Colleen Farlee • Christopher C. Farley • [illegible]

and Mike [illegible] • Donald Farness • [illegible] • Christine M. Farrell • Harry and Mary Farrell • [illegible] • Robert M. Farrier, M.D.

• John Farr[illegible] Kohl • Jonathan [illegible] • R Fatton JR • Leo M. Fat[illegible]

• Michael Fa[illegible] • Jeannette R. Favors • [illegible] • John Fay • Terry Fayer • [illegible]

Robert Fearon • [illegible] • Bud Feder • [illegible] • Frances Feeney • Michael Feeney • [illegible]

B. Feierabend • [illegible] • James F. Feilzer • [illegible] Feinstein • Roger Feinstein • [illegible]

• Anita Feldman • [illegible] • Robert H. Feldman • [illegible] • Sheila Feller • Anita [illegible]

• Celia A. Felsher • [illegible]ndrick • By Fenhagen • [illegible] • Jennifer J. Fenza • Michael Feola • [illegible]

Ferguson • Charles [illegible] • Jesseca Ferguson • [illegible] • Patricia Ferland • [illegible]

Carlos J. Fernandez • [illegible] A. Fernandez • Tony [illegible] • Vincent Ferraro • Barbara [illegible]

Ada Ferrer • Francis [illegible] Ferzacca • Stanley [illegible] • Leona Feyer • Rebecca [illegible]

S. Field • Rachel Field • [illegible] • Gary Fields • James [illegible] • R. L. Figge • Lynette Figini • [illegible]

• Jane B. Fike • Al[illegible] Frederic S. Fillingham • [illegible] • Amy B. Finders • Sally E. [illegible]

Finehirsh • Charles [illegible] Finiman • Dale B. Fink • [illegible] • Linda Finkel-Talvadkar • James Finken • [illegible]

Finley • Joe Finn • [illegible] Finnegan • Patricia and [illegible] • Robert Firestone • [illegible]

Fisch • Cynthia Fi[illegible] Kristina L. Fischer • R. E. F[illegible] Fishel • Audrey A. Fisher • [illegible]

er • Greg Fisher • [illegible] S. Fisher • Johanna [illegible] • Solomon Fisher • Stephen R. Fisher • [illegible]

A. Fishlevich • [illegible] Fishman • Ruth Fishman • [illegible] • Jeffrey D. Fitzgerald • Jimmie H. Fitzgerald • [illegible]

and Ronald [illegible] • Barbara Fitzpatrick • Lavern [illegible] • Gloria R. Flaherty • Barney Flanagan • [illegible]

Flanders • [illegible]an • J. P. Flatt • Adrienne [illegible] • Paul M. Fleiss, M.D. • Mr. Alarie O. Fleming • [illegible]

ald Fl[illegible] Fleming • David Flemming • [illegible] • S. M. Flint • Thomas P. Flint • [illegible]

[illegible] Floreno • Marciano Flo[illegible] • Howard Florio • Lisa Florman and David Weinberg • [illegible]

[illegible] Fluck • Lisa Fluet • Nicole [illegible] • David Fogarty • Ina M. Fogarty • [illegible]

[illegible] • Frank S. Foldi • Roma [illegible] • Mark Folsom • Noel W. Folsom • [illegible]

[illegible] • Mary M. Fonow • David [illegible] • Howard Foote • Lindsley Foote • [illegible]

[illegible]es B. Forcey • Elmer Ford • [illegible] • Mr. and Mrs. Ray Ford • Seymour Ford • [illegible]

[illegible] • Una & Norman Forer • [illegible] Forrest • Dorothea Forrest • [illegible]

[illegible] Forsythe • Lucia Fort • Coco [illegible] • Rachel Foss • John Fossum • [illegible]

[illegible] • Larry S. Foster • Marjorie Fo[illegible] • David E. Fowler • Ed Fowler • [illegible]

[illegible] Fowler • Ann Fowlin • Carol [illegible] • Samantha Fox • Shirley P. Fox • [illegible]

[illegible] Frances Adams • Jack Francis • [illegible] Frank • Carole Anne and Samuel Frank • [illegible]

[illegible] • Robert M. Frank • Katherine Fr[illegible] • Benjamin A. Franklin • [illegible]

[illegible] Franklin • Virginia Franklin • [illegible] • Lawrence Franz • Amelia and [illegible]

• [illegible] • Charlotte Fraser • Karen [illegible] • Richard Frazier • Beverly Frederick • [illegible]

son • [illegible] Fredrickson • Duane H. Free[illegible] • David Freedman • Lawrence Freedman • [illegible]

man • [illegible] • Margaret Freeland • D. V. Freeman • [illegible] • Tom and Dorothy Freeman • T. C. Freeman IV • [illegible]

Fregoso • [illegible] Freldson • Holly Freifeld • [illegible] • David French • Gerald French • [illegible]

Frenette • [illegible] Freshley • Mark Fresolone • [illegible] • Martin Freundlich • Brett Frey • [illegible]

E. Friar • Jam[illegible] • Anna Friedenberg • Maria Jo [illegible] • Evelyn Friedman • [illegible]

man • Howard F[illegible] Friedman • Lewis Friedman • [illegible] • Sydney Friedman • [illegible]

mann • Glenon Fri[illegible] • Muriel Friend • Amber M. Fr[illegible] • Robert M. Fritz • Evelyn Frohman • [illegible]

Fromm • Burton S. F[illegible] Frounfelter and Peggy E. [illegible] • Sergio Fuenzalida • [illegible]

• Scott Fugit • Jerilyn F[illegible] Mrs. Glenn Fuller • Judith [illegible] • Samuel S. Fuller • [illegible]

Fullerton • Andrea Fulling[illegible] • Robert Funk • [illegible]

[illegible]man and Beirut Beik • Matt F[illegible] Gable • James D. Gaboury • [illegible] • Julio Gaete • [illegible]

[illegible] Gagliano • Fereshteh Ga[illegible] • David Gaitley • Dennis [illegible] • Mary Ellen Ga[illegible]

[illegible] Gallagher • Joeann Gallagher • [illegible] • Manus Gallagher • [illegible] • Rose Gallagher • [illegible]

[illegible] • Margaret W. Gallegos • Carl G[illegible] • Catherine S. Galloway • [illegible] • Shirley Gallup • [illegible]

[illegible] Galy • Melanie Galyon • Sarah [illegible] Gamble • Martha and Walter G[illegible]

[illegible] • George L. Ganat • Suzette Ga[illegible] Theodore N. Gangursky • Gail [illegible] • Thomas Graham [illegible]

[illegible] Garbarinos • Robert Garber • [illegible] Garcia • Mollie M. Garcia • Paul Garcia • Sergio M. Garcia • Sonja Garcia • Susan Garcia • [illegible]

[illegible] Nancy Riley • Fran Gardner • Jeffre[illegible] • Robert M. Gardner • Ms. Shirley M. Gardner • Joseph [illegible]

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rington • Michael Harrington • Michael A. Har [illegible] Arthur Harris • Bea Harris • Bob Harris • Catherine Harris • Charles
Harris • James and Marjorie Harris • Jean Har [illegible] Robert Harris • Robert D. Harris • Robert L. Harris • Ron D. Harri
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Christi Hart • Edwin P. Hart [illegible] Alvin Hartman • Joel & Ma
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and Mrs. Armis E. Hawk [illegible] wkins • Skip Hawkins
• Lewis R. Hawthorne • [illegible] Rosemary Starace •
Hayes • Marmete Hayes [illegible] Francis Haynes • Jer
ynn S. Hazen • Bill Ha [illegible] ley • Karen Heaphey •
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• Bruce Heim • Irene [illegible] einig • Walter Heink
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Hendrix • James and G [illegible] neberry • Paul Henne
Roy Henock • Dale K. [illegible] cy Hensleigh • Apphi
peler • Homer M. Hep [illegible] ge • Irene S. Herlock
Kevin Hermida • Laure [illegible] • Lawrence F. Heron
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Hershfield • Shel Hersh [illegible] l • James Herzberg •
Hess • Rebecca Hess • [illegible] Hetherington • Melvin
Heuertz and Ken Clatter [illegible] Hewitt • Shirley A. H
• William R. Hiatt • Ch [illegible] man • Lois Hickman
Hicks • Lynne E. Hicks [illegible] Peter Higbie • Anne
ricia A. Highland • Ti [illegible] Roy Hilburn • William
Christopher Hill • Cliff [illegible] ram Hill • Richard Hi
Jr. • Bethany G. Hill-An [illegible] nd Douglas Hillmer •
Emma Himeno • Milo [illegible] arlotte H. Hiney • Bar
Hinkson • Claude and [illegible] eborah Hirsch • Mar
Hirschman • Marc Hir [illegible] ck And Peggy Hitner
murovich • Kendra K [illegible] Harlan H. Hobgood •
Hochwitz • Dennis Hod [illegible] M. Hodge • Floyd Hod
Michael Hodgman • Jo [illegible] etker • Russell T. Ho
man • Deloris Hoffman [illegible] • Susan Hoffman •
Hofland • Harrison Ho [illegible] ogle • Wilma L. Hogl
Karen Hohler • Kathry [illegible] • Lucien A. Hold III
Holdt • S. Holdt • Jaap [illegible] Holliday, Jr. • Bruce
Holloway • H. R. Holly [illegible] olmes • Charlotte Ho
• Richard B. Holmes • [illegible] olmstrom • Mary Hol
Lorraine M. Holton • R [illegible] ony H [illegible] Homan • Dr. Edwin [illegible] Colem
• James L. Hondros • C [illegible] raham [illegible] Alan Hooper • Bob H [illegible] R. E.
E. Hope • Ted Hope • [illegible] opkins [illegible] ley Hopkins • Vinita [illegible] ilip Hor
Horgan • J. Michael Ho [illegible] n • Hen [illegible] man • Melissa Horst • [illegible] abeth H
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Jim Houghton • Larry G. [illegible] ourany • M [illegible] ulie Houston • Elly Hous [illegible] • Alice Q.
Friedman • Barbara W. H [illegible] oward • Jean E. [illegible] • Marian Howard • Mart [illegible] E. Howard •
ward Howden • Martha How [illegible] ell • Lynn Howell [illegible] offrey Howes • Geoffrey C. Ho [illegible] • James Howm
den • Jean Howson • Bernadette Ho [illegible] e Hoyt • Lorraine Hoyt • [illegible] Al Hromjak • Andrew Hrycyna • Clara [illegible] Hubbard • Frances Joyc
Hubbard • Susan Hubbard • Thomas D. Hubbard • Dr. John P. Hubbell, Jr. • Janet L. Hubber • Clayton A. Hubl [illegible] berty • Terry Hubka • Ray Hubley • David Hubner • Thomas Huckin • Dorothy T. Hudak • Richard Hudelson • Consuelo H
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[illegible] • Thomas Krilovich • [illegible] • Stan Krome • Henry and [illegible] • Aaron Krosnick and Mary [illegible] • Mary Krucik • Walter [illegible] • Lawrence and Virginia Kruger • [illegible] • Bonnie Krupa • [illegible] • Mary Kruse • Merrel [illegible] • Dr. Michael J. Kudlas • [illegible] • John Kuech • Jay Kugelman • [illegible] • Barclay Kuhn • Epp Ojama[illegible] • *Brenda Kulju* • *B. J. Kuller* • [illegible] • *Diane B. Kunimi* • *Bo*[illegible] • *Harry W. Kunkle* • [illegible] • Jerry Kupfer and Gini [illegible] • Constance S. Kurth • [illegible] Kurtz • Donald Kurtz • [illegible] Kushner • Karen Ku[illegible] • Ahmed Kutty • K.N. Kutty • [illegible] and Lorenzo Tedesco • [illegible] Rosa • John La Ros[illegible] • Charles W. Labarre • Richard Labarre • [illegible] • Robert Lacativa • Catherine [illegible] • Raymond A. Lacy • Rob[illegible]uwahetty • Anthony Lade[illegible] • Christine Lafferty • [illegible] • Edward and Ann Laforge • [illegible] • Martha V. 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(Continued From Page 24)

Arabic literature and mysticism. The mystically inclined British Orientalist A.J. Arberry (1905–69), who was the first to translate al-Niffari, wrote somewhat speculatively about the mystic's life in the vicinity of the ancient town of Niffar:

> And at night, in the desert, when the stars hung low, and the bright belt of Orion recalled legends of that giant who overreached ambition, this lonely wanderer, whose writings like his ashes have fallen upon unfrequented ways, found strength and consolation in the vision of the one true God Whose love and service atone for every lovely perishable thing that this uncertain world possesses.

Adonis's appreciation of al-Niffari has been more literary, though no less passionate. Al-Niffari's accounts of his encounters with the Divine are full of fierce energy, paradox and strange metaphors. His language became a tool for exploring a weird universe. Since his visions made him blind to social and literary conventions, he became a Surrealist poet *avant la lettre*: "The knowledge of the sea is an unreachable lustre, and its depths an unfathomable darkness, and between the two are fishes which may not be trusted."

Other, more secular poets also form part of Adonis's private pantheon of *poètes maudits*. Abu Nuwas, the louche ninth-century court poet of the Abbasid caliphs, a bisexual, a hard drinker and a poetical innovator, is in this pantheon. So is al-Ma'arri, the eleventh-century misanthropic skeptic and satirist. Perhaps even more important in shaping Adonis's self-image as poet is the greatest of the poets of pre-Islamic Arabia, Imru'l-Qays, the sixth-century prince who roamed in exile until, it is said, he was murdered with a poisoned shirt that he was given. His most famous poem, his *Mu'allaqa*, is steeped in nostalgia and eroticism and rich with vivid imagery. In the essay "Poetry and the Desert" Adonis has written admiringly of the bleakness, sensuality and grim sense of destiny in pre-Islamic poetry and of the poets' use of the Arabic language as a vehicle for magic and ritual. In Adonis's eyes, modernity is not the monopoly of modern times.

Although he has a thorough knowledge of the classical canons of Arab poetry, which were first established by the pre-Islamic poets of Arabia, Adonis is emphatic that those canons should not constrain today's poetry. Since the 1950s he has been one of the pioneers of free verse, prose poems and other forms of experimentation.

While Adonis is a prolific writer of both prose and poetry, only small selections translated by various hands have so far appeared in English. More of his work has been translated into French (and, in general, the French have shown a much greater interest in Arabic literature than either the Americans or the British). Anne Wade Minkowski has been his chief French translator. Not only has Adonis worked closely with her translations of his poetry, but they have cooperated in the reverse process, as Minkowski has assisted Adonis in his translations into French of the poets al-Ma'arri and Kahlil Gibran. Jean-Yves Masson in the introduction to the most recent selection of Minkowski's translations of Adonis, *Toucher la lumière*, quotes Octavio Paz to the effect that poets have no biographies. In one sense, that hardly seems appropriate for Adonis, whose strange trajectory from peasant to illustrious writer threads its way through three-quarters of a century of political, religious and cultural upheaval in the Middle East. And, indeed, I believe that Adonis is currently working on his autobiography. Yet, in another sense, Paz's observation seems most appropriate when considering the poetry of Adonis. The poems translated in *Toucher la lumière* are personal in the sense that only he can be sure what they mean, yet impersonal in the sense that he allows the reader no window into his private concerns. He is known to despise personal or psychologically revelatory poems.

Adonis's universe is the theater of a solipsistic visionary. What he has to say is oracular and difficult. The poet has something of the Mahdi (the redeemer at the end of history) about him, but in his strange apocalypse it is not clear who is going to be saved and who damned. Damascus is the notional subject and setting for many of the poems, but it is a city of history, legend and above all strange Surrealist metaphors, rather than the congested, noisy, dickering place that is familiar to those who have actually visited it. The poet's universe is constructed from emblematic things: the city, the sea, the mirror, the wind, the tree and the dream. There is something eerily childlike in the way objects are animated and given new meanings. In *Toucher la lumière*, the wind is a child that sits and cries on his shoulders. The dream advances toward infancy as one gets older. In one of these poems, words are

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defined as "wings for birds which take dreams as nests." This whole selection can be read as a great Surrealist dictionary.

In 1992 Adonis published *al-Sufiyya wa 'l-Surriyaliyya* (of which an English translation, *Sufism and Surrealism*, is forthcoming with Saqi Books in London next year). In that extended essay he argued that Sufism and Surrealism drew on common areas of the psyche and shared a language and goals. He presented Surrealism as a godless form of mysticism and argued that Sufism did not entail faith in traditional religion. Surrealism and Sufism both dealt in things that issue from a hidden world and that are unseen, unspoken and incomprehensible. Adonis drew heavily upon André Breton, al-Niffari and, above all, Rimbaud, whom he described as an "oriental Sufi." Rimbaud's father translated the Koran and Rimbaud himself studied Arabic. Sanguinary sultans and djinns stalk through his poetry. In *A Season in Hell*, he addressed European philosophers in the following terms: "You are in the West, but free to live in your East, as old as you wish it—and to live there well. Do not be one of the defeated." Adonis portrays Rimbaud as a product of a culture that has been infiltrated by Oriental literature, via translations of *The Thousand and One Nights* and al-'Attar's mystical verses.

Al-Sufiyya w'al-Surriyaliyya's chapter on "Love" is almost entirely devoted to an exposition of the thought of Ibn al-'Arabi, the thirteenth-century Andalusian mystic, who proclaimed that "to see God in the form of a beautiful woman is the most perfect vision of all." Women feature prominently in the poetic universe of Adonis. They are not the sort of women one is likely to meet in Beirut or Paris but are, rather, the most powerful of the emblems in the emblematic universe of cities, seas and mirrors that the poet inhabits. Indeed, in some poems a woman appears to constitute the whole of an intensely eroticized universe. *If Only the Sea Could Sleep*, a selection of his love poems, takes its title from one of his most striking images: "If only the sea could sleep I would make its bed beside me." In this strange landscape a grieving seashell lectures the poet on the nature of Woman and the poet speaks of wearing a woman and of her wearing him. This last metaphor may remind Western readers of Breton's declaration: "I wish I could change my sex as easily as I change my shirt"; but Arab readers are more likely to think of the Koran's declaration: "Women are your garments and you are theirs."

In the interviews in *Identité Inachevée*, Adonis sets out his ideas on political, social and religious issues. The poet is a prophet and poetry is a force for social change and liberation. The poet-prophet fights on two fronts. First he opposes the dead weight of institutional Islam and the backward-looking and patriarchal nature of Arab culture. Society needs to be feminized. Second, Western materialism, globalization and a culture of dependency in the Middle East must be combated. In a sense, this struggle is another aspect of the first one, for he argues that it is the West that keeps corrupt, patriarchal Arab politicians in power and that the West prefers to cut deals with Islamic fundamentalists rather than oppose them. He singles out sports, computers, comic books, photography and, above all, the Internet as elements of a sinister new mode of Western existence that allows no space for the visionary. The Arab world cannot achieve modernity in terms set by the West. In one of his best-known poems, "A Tomb for New York," he has written of the Statue of Liberty "lifting in one hand a rag called liberty," while with the other it throttles the earth. Elsewhere, he has written of "Europe's worm-eaten corpse."

Yet Adonis's attitude toward the West is always ambivalent. "A Tomb for New York" also apostrophizes Walt Whitman, and Adonis continues to argue that much of Western culture is really Oriental culture in disguise, noting that it was the dream of the Orient that shaped Romanticism in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In one of his earlier essays, he suggested that the true religion of the West is a worship of the future. But Adonis prefers to turn back to the fertility rituals of ancient Syria, the bleak poetry of pre-Islamic Arabia and Sufic prefigurations of Surrealism. The best manifestations of modernity, he believes, are found in centuries past. ■

Versed in Adventure

STEPHEN BURT

COMPLETE POEMS: Basil Bunting. Edited by Richard Caddel.
New Directions. 239 pp. $16.95.

Few modern poets served so long an apprenticeship as Basil Bunting, none had so adventurous a life and few poets' lives have produced such lasting rewards. Along with Philip Larkin (whose partisans often ignore Bunting, and vice versa) Bunting (1900–85) is the major poet of postwar Britain: a master of concision, a superb literary translator, a great lyricist of love and disillusionment, a trustworthy poet of war and of peace, and the author of one of the great long poems in the language.

Though Bunting declared that in poems "sound...is all that matters," readers have been glad to know his eventful life. He grew up in Newcastle, in England's Northeast, and remained loyal to its scenery and regional dialects, which he once described as the "Northumbrian tongue travel has not taken from me." In 1918 he refused military service, spending several brutal months in prison. The next twenty years saw Bunting living in London, Paris, Italy and the Canary Islands, all of which figure in his early poems. Inspired by Ezra Pound, he also took to translation, teaching himself classical Persian just so he could read the *Shahnamah*, the Persian national epic, in the original. In 1940 he joined the Royal Air Force, which sent him to North Africa and Iran; though archaic in Tehran, Bunting's Persian enabled him to speak with desert tribes whose help the Allies needed. (Their customs would inform his poetry, too.) Bunting stayed there as a diplomat and a British spy until his 1948 marriage to a vivacious Persian teenager sank his career; he stayed on in Tehran as a journalist, only to be expelled by Iran's nationalist government in 1952. After a hair-raising international escape, the Buntings settled uneasily back in Newcastle; he returned to poetry in the 1960s, finding readers for the first time.

Assimilating Modernism's new methods—quick cuts, allusions, extreme condensation—Bunting used them, paradoxically, to demonstrate how little in human life changes, how well poetry can frame enduring truths. The earliest work he preserved

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Stephen Burt is a critic and poet who teaches at Macalester College in St. Paul. His next book of poems, Parallel Play, *will be published in early 2006 by Graywolf.*

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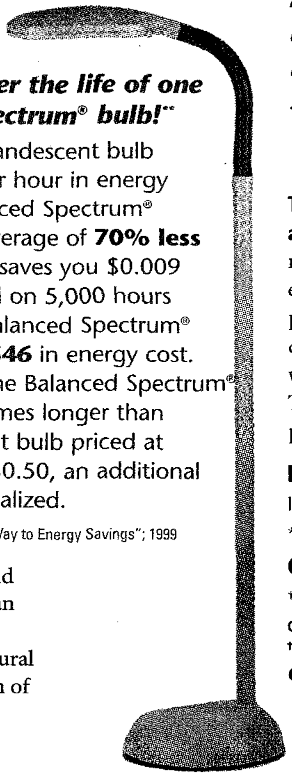

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sounds much like the young Pound; "Villon" (1925) voiced the disillusionment—and the prison experience—of the medieval French poet François Villon, whose captors left him "lying on my back in the dark place, in the grave,/fettered to a post in the damp cellarage." Bunting later mixed such bitterness with stoicism and with praise, showing how language and its most diligent users can endure, if not repair, a damaged world. "The Spoils" (completed 1951) addressed his war experience; the title quotes the Koran ("The spoils [of war] are for God"), and the poem's three segments compare ancient and modern warfare, both of which leave men with ways to exhibit their bravery, but with nothing to keep. Scenes from Persia and the North Atlantic flank lyrical passages as clean as this one, about a falcon:

> His wings churn air
> to flight.
> Feathers alight
> with sun, he rises where
> dazzle rebuts our stare,
> wonder our fright.

In 1964 the 17-year-old Newcastle poet Tom Pickard called on Bunting for advice; the older poet was soon drawn into the atmosphere of group readings and youthful enthusiasm that Pickard helped create. The experience moved Bunting to consider his own youth and especially his time with Peggy Greenbank, with whom he had an intense romance in his teens. The resulting twenty-one-page poem, "Briggflatts," incorporated all his previous concerns—their romance, his war, northeast English and Near Eastern history, Quaker pacifism, this-worldly delight. (Bunting dedicated the poem to her; after she read it, they met again.) The poem contrasts frustrated traveling conquerors (Eric Bloodaxe, Alexander the Great) with emblems of patience, humility and endurance (a mason, a worm); both are aspects of Bunting, who suffered for conscience and traveled through a world at war but fled in shame from his first love.

That summary shows the poem's goals, and its pathos, but not the virtues of its individual parts, which include a dirge, a love song, a lament, an incantation, sentences of crystalline descriptive power and passages of athletically vigorous narrative. "Stocking to stocking, jersey to jersey,/head to a hard arm," Bunting's young lovers "kiss under the rain,/bruised by their marble bed." "Take no notice of tears," the poem continues; "letter the stone to stand/over love laid aside"; "Then is Now. The star you steer by is gone,/its tremulous thread spun in the hurricane/spider floss on my cheek." Tracing armies through Asia, or his own walks through local lands, the poet contemplates ambition and its futilities, attachments and their demise: "Who cares to remember a name cut in ice/or be remembered?/Wind writes in foam on the sea." The poem's structure, with its five "movements," recalls T.S. Eliot's *Four Quartets*; Bunting himself invoked the composer Scarlatti, who "condensed so much music into so few bars,/with...never a boast or a see-here."

Bunting's compact *oeuvre* has an astonishing scope, not only within his longer poems but in his translations from Persian and Latin, and in the short poems he called "odes"; these range widely in form (singsong couplets, dense trimeters, long-lined free verse), in kind (erotic lyric, sarcastic rebuke, scenic meditation) and in mood (angry, regretful, devoted, excited, resolved). Clunky early on, the short poems got better and better; the best date from after "Briggflatts." A 1975 lyric ends "Look how clouds dance/under the wind's wing, and leaves/delight in transience"; a 1971 version of Horace achieves terse, melodic gravity: "We must let earth go and home,/wives too, and your trim trees,/yours for a moment, save one/sprig of black cypress."

The poet and scholar Richard Caddel, who died suddenly last year, worked hard to assemble this complete volume, whose final version appeared in England in 2000. It offers adventure, a confident voice, neat takes on history (both recent and archaic), an attractively careworn secular ethics and an even more attractive combination of archaic and vernacular English models. It also offers superb verbal command, chiseling every stanza to the fewest, densest possible words, giving each an aural shape. Those shapes are not always mellifluous—sometimes they are harsh, a mouthful—but each demonstrates Bunting's mastery, proving itself on the page as well as in the ear, where all good poems find their place. ■

FILMS

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THE AVIATOR

Martin Scorsese's *The Aviator* overlays three legends, all of them made of celluloid. Only one is explicit, though: the fable of the immensely rich wacko Howard Hughes, who spent his last years self-imprisoned in a Las Vegas hotel he'd bought for that purpose, watching movies around the clock, growing his hair and beard to Nazarene length and shuffling about with Kleenex boxes for shoes.

Actually, Scorsese never gets around to this part of the story. He just foreshadows it like crazy, as he relates the less widely known legend of Hughes's Hollywood exploits from 1927 through 1947. Lean, handsome and a child of wealth, the young Hughes left Houston for Los Angeles to make movies—big movies—and to have his way with the women drawn to that gaudy occupation. While in town he also designed and flew airplanes, set world speed records, ran an airline, procured controversial War Department contracts and broke a few taboos (that is, exploited them deliriously) by making *The Outlaw*, a western that focused single-mindedly on Jane Russell's breasts. Since well-funded mischief, off-screen and on, has always been part of Hollywood's fun, it's not surprising that Scorsese likes the bustling young don't-give-a-damn Hughes. He enjoys the way Hughes spent recklessly on movies and airplanes, outside the rules of studios and most other business institutions; and this enjoyment comes rushing off the screen like a strong updraft, giddily lifting the audience's spirits.

Yet just when *The Aviator* is at its flightiest, Scorsese will remind you of the crash to come: Hughes's descent into mad, bitter isolation. In these darker moments of *The Aviator*, which grow more frequent and prolonged as the film progresses, Scorsese subtly evokes a second film legend: that of Charles Foster Kane.

Look at a close-up of Hughes (or, rather, Leonardo DiCaprio) late in the

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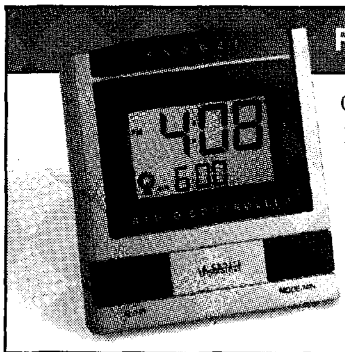

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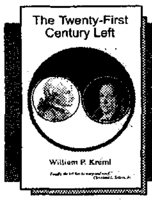

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film, with shadows spilling over a face grown puffy and mustached, and you might almost think you're seeing Orson Welles in *Citizen Kane*. In case the resemblance isn't strong enough to register on its own, *The Aviator* also echoes some of Kane's cocksure dialogue ("If I go on losing money at this rate...") and provides two or three Welles-like semi-theatrical tableaux, called up as the lights rise here and there on a darkened soundstage. The most important of these latter scenes involves Hughes's memory, from boyhood, of his beloved mother—a Rosebud moment, you might say, which is meant to explain all of the protagonist's subsequent behavior in a way that Welles himself once belittled as "rather dollar-book Freud." But I doubt the cheapness of the explanation bothers Scorsese. Like Welles, he is telling a fable, about a rich boy from the American heartland who bulled his way into a popular business, indulged his sexual appetites, clashed with a politician and ultimately (after *The Aviator* ends) became a dotty hermit. Add a few incidental associations—such as the fact that Hughes bought and ruined RKO, the studio where Welles had made *Citizen Kane*—and the usefulness of the parallel becomes obvious. Hughes's story gives Scorsese the opportunity to make his own version of The Greatest Movie of All Time.

And why shouldn't he try? The third legend worked into *The Aviator*, the one that is most covert and yet most personal, concerns the ambitions of Scorsese's youth. He was among the 1970s wild men (so the story goes) who broke into a moribund Hollywood and gave American movies a new life. By presenting Hughes as a heedlessly creative maverick in a monopoly-run film business—that is, by making him not only Kane but also a tycoon version of Welles—Scorsese implicitly projects something of his own myth into *The Aviator*. Surely the film draws a portion of its exuberance from the director's memories of his early, joyful breakthroughs, or from the audience's recollections of them. And the foreboding, the deepening gloom, the frustration of energies thrown back on themselves, the sense of waste? That, too, may belong as much to Scorsese as to Welles, Kane or Hughes. The generation of the 1970s, having failed to "save Hollywood" (whatever that means), finds itself aging in Jerry Bruckheimer's unlovely world. No wonder Scorsese now gathers his forces, as if in defiance, to hurl himself once more at cinematic glory.

He'd make it, too, if skill alone could carry him there. To the mad geometry of *The Aviator*'s looping, zooming aerial shots, which are exhilarating to the point of hilarity, Scorsese adds the expansive musical comedy of nightclub sequences (an *hommage*, you'd think, to his own *New York, New York*), intensely played scenes of emotional breakdowns in men's rooms (recalling *Raging Bull*), an agony in the screening room, complete with motion-picture stigmata (*The Last Temptation of Hughes*?) and the kind of male-female sparring that has figured in any number of his pictures. My point isn't that Scorsese has done many of these things before but that he does them all so well in *The Aviator*, outperforming his own standards in some cases and establishing new ones in others. His directorial scope approaches the encyclopedic. Hughes's 1946 plane crash in Beverly Hills becomes, in Scorsese's hands, a time-stopping suspense montage, as formally complex as Eisenstein's Odessa Steps sequence, as luxuriant in its mayhem as the best of Irwin Allen. Hughes's lunch in Connecticut with Katharine Hepburn and her family plays like a screwball comedy (another first for Scorsese, so far as I can recall), though a comedy that's cut short when real pain rises to the surface.

I could go on and on listing the set pieces. But if you want to know what gives *The Aviator* a heartbeat, however intermittent, I'll have to forget about Scorsese for a while and talk instead about Cate Blanchett.

In the role of Katharine Hepburn, she represents one of the very few people with whom Hughes ever formed an attachment. (That's screenwriter John Logan's assessment, at any rate.) Blanchett's interplay with DiCaprio therefore provides *The Aviator* with the few chances it has to break out of solipsism into a semblance of life. In these scenes, Howard Hughes finally has someone other than Howard Hughes to think about, and so the movie focuses on her (to the audience's great if momentary relief) while turning DiCaprio into a supporting actor. Blanchett becomes the star, not by virtue of looking like Hepburn (she doesn't) but by a startling inner transformation. She strides about crisply, laughs in musical bleats, exclaims "Golly!" and "Hot dog!" with Yankee conviction, makes meals of her vowels; and these traits don't strike you as mimicry (once you've gotten past your initial delight) but as natural expressions of a force, intelligence and probity that you accept as Hepburn's own. Much of her dialogue has to do with her

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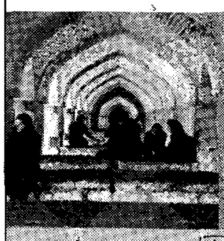

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need to be wary; and yet whenever she's on screen, you welcome her. She has a human touch.

Hughes, by contrast, envisions germs writhing and teeming on every fingertip around him. He shuns human contact—which means that you, too, eventually feel shut out by him, as Hughes devolves from a character into a psychiatric case study. Despite the challenge that this scheme presents for the actor, DiCaprio has many ways to engage you, from the sly, Henry Fonda–like pretense of humorlessness in his early scenes to a mute panic in the eyes later on, when Hughes loses control of his speech and can only look on in horror as his mouth talks on its own. The performance is big, varied and admirable, but it's in the service of a fatalistic, and fatal, idea of the character: *The Aviator* turns Hughes into one of those brave souls who struggle against an affliction.

This is not something you can say about Charles Foster Kane. He brought himself low by exerting the very abilities that had raised him high. Orson Welles did the same (in legend, if not in fact); and so for that matter did Jake LaMotta. But Hughes in *The Aviator* bears no responsibility for his own downfall. It comes to him from outside: from a faulty gene that must have been passed down at conception, or from the attitudes instilled by an overprotective mother. Hughes—the conniving, skirt-chasing, redbaiting, director-bashing, studio-busting, filthy-rich sonofabitch—comes off by the end as a victim, begging for pity, inspiring no terror.

Questions of directorial virtuosity aside, this is no way for Scorsese to equal *Citizen Kane*. It lends Hughes sympathy by robbing him of power; it drains the helium from the balloon for the whole last hour. No artistic justification comes to mind for the decision—but if you think sociologically instead, and ask what *The Aviator* might have to say about contemporary life, then this version of Hughes begins to make sense.

He is the only type of film artist about whom you could reasonably make a big-budget movie nowadays: a businessman. He is a hero made for an era when every entrepreneur wants to be seen as creative, a Kane-Welles for the Miramax generation. If Harvey Weinstein were dashing and handsome, he would be this Hughes.

And if a strange illness were to render Harvey as helpless as Hughes becomes, so that his underlings could lock him in a shed for a while, Scorsese might feel thirty years younger. ■

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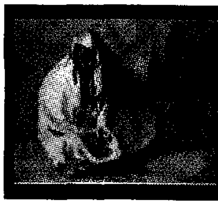

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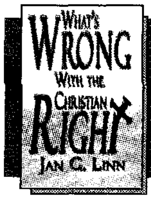

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STONE MOUNTAIN, GA, *NATION* DISCUSSION GROUP is forming. For further information please call David C. McHenry at (770) 498-1297 or e-mail dmchenry@attbi.com.

CEDAR FALLS/WATERLOO, IA, *NATION* DISCUSSION GROUP is forming. Phone Lou Hellwig at (319) 266-5363 or e-mail shellwig@cfu.net for more information.

JOIN THE BALTIMORE *NATION* DISCUSSION GROUP. For more information please contact Justin S. Hill, (410) 235-2917, or drshill@bellatlantic.net.

LAS VEGAS AREA *NATION* DISCUSSION GROUP is looking for new members. Contact Harold Barling, (702) 736-6905, for more information.

ALBUQUERQUE *NATION* DISCUSSION GROUP meeting regularly. Call (505) 797-1455 or e-mail h.aarli@comcast.net for more information.

Classified

ORGANIZATIONS

HUNTINGTON, LI, NY, *NATION* DISCUSSION GROUP is looking for new members. Call John Valenti, (631) 549-3926.

BRONX (RIVERDALE)/WESTCHESTER, NY, *NATION* DISCUSSION Group meets one afternoon a month. For further information please phone Florence Gold at (718) 549-1601.

ASHEVILLE, NC, *NATION* DISCUSSION GROUP MEETING. Contact Jerry McKinney for more information: Call (828) 452-7603 or e-mail jaymac_enterprises@yahoo.com.

CINCINNATI *NATION* DISCUSSION GROUP meets regularly. Call Judith or Herbert Shapiro at (513) 861-4641.

EASTERN OKLAHOMA *NATION* DISCUSSION GROUP looking for members. Please contact Howard Kelley at (918) 627-9136.

OKLAHOMA CITY *NATION* DISCUSSION GROUP meets regularly at the Full Circle Book Store, 50 Penn Place, 1900 NW Expressway St. Please call Hal Cousins at (405) 677-3623 or e-mail Bob Nichols, bobnichols@cox.net for further information.

INTERESTED IN JOINING THE HOUSTON *NATION* DISCUSSION group? Contact Charles Mauch at (713) 524-2492 or e-mail chasmauch@aol.com.

MONTPELIER, VT, *NATION* DISCUSSION GROUP is meeting. For information call (802) 229-9918 or e-mail lnichol@together.net.

GIG HARBOR, WA, *NATION* DISCUSSION GROUP is seeking new members. Call Bill Nerin (253) 851-8888 or e-mail nerins@earthlink.net.

SOUTHERN VERMONT *NATION* DISCUSSION GROUP is forming, centered in Wilmington and the surrounding towns of Marlboro, Halifax, Whitingham, Readsboro, Woodford and West Dover, but all interested persons from the Brattleboro, Greenfield and Bennington areas invited to join. For information please call Bob Silverman, (802) 464-5149.

NORTH JERSEY *NATION* DISCUSSION GROUP: Coordinator is Trudy Anschuetz, phone (973) 746-4135 e-mail TGOBLUE1@aol.com.

BRANDON, FL, *NATION* DISCUSSION GROUP FORMING. Contact Mary, (813) 689-8859.

PLEASANTON CA, Fremont, San Ramon, Danville, Dublin, Livermore *Nation* discussion group now forming. Call John @ (925) 462-6815 or e-mail supervalue10@aol.com.

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PUZZLE NO. 2969

FRANK W. LEWIS

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ACROSS

1 Jump up high with a seasonable approach—the tune about the Rockies has it. (6,2,3,3)

9 The crown, the orb, the fancy robes, etc.—a real GI might be confused with it! (7)

10 Make a public plea for an opening around it? (7)

11 Not an artificial covering for the listening device, although you'll find a bug here. (6)

12 Set wrong, and possibly aided what might be propped up. (8)

14 *Frasier*, for example. But the old-fashioned drive has been canceled. (4-3)

15 The sort of institution where one stays to 1 down when the plane crashes. (5)

17 Showing taste, the "pad" is possibly furnished with it. (5)

19 Is it unusual that war is involved when you get from side to side? (7)

21 Puts a person in his proper place, since the guy who had his eye on the apple has gone. (5,3)

23 Taken improperly around the capital of Latvia, you'll get a sock for being there! (6)

25 The stork shows damage, but not quite about the tail! (7)

26 What Darwin was concerned with, although the alternative is gin as a concoction. (7)

27 A piscine description might apply—but you can detect a certain amount of fraud when you see this. (9,5)

DOWN

1 and **21** down One might have to finish the sentence if one does. (5,4,4)

2 Looks closely at what well-wishers send. (7)

3 If nude, ill, confused, one would be knocked out! (9)

4 I went fast from this place! (4)

5 and **24** City-bred, one hears, given a lot of heat and still very popular. (5,2,3,4)

6 Heath showed what America finally proved to be! (5)

7 A fine hand is sometimes said to be. (7)

8 and **16** If you do, is there not much speech required, without contradiction? (8,2,3)

13 What happens when the Prince is embarrassed is something many players want to hold close. (5,5)

15 Not an elaborate spat displayed by one at court. (9)

16 See 8

18 Proving a friend gets more confused by the city. (7)

20 When they came out, you could hear the sound of the stars! (7)

21 See 1

22 Coming up like wheat, according to the Frenchman—or fur, perhaps. (5)

24 See 5

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 2968

■	■	C	R	O	S	S	B	O	W	M	A	N	■	■
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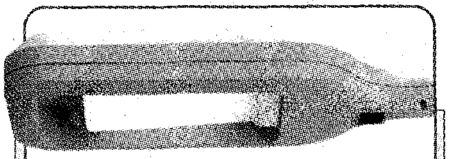

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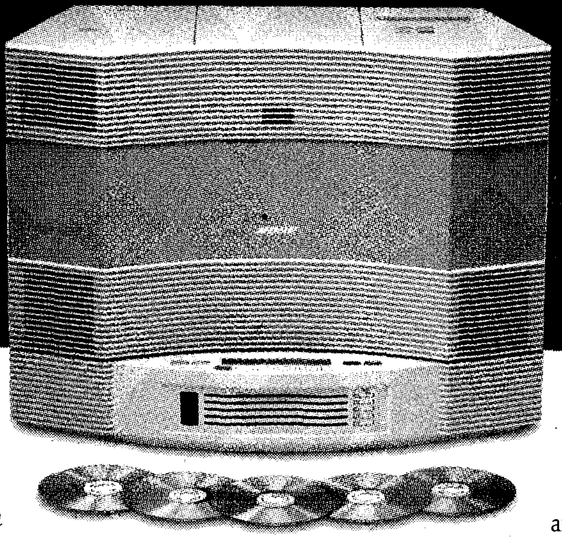

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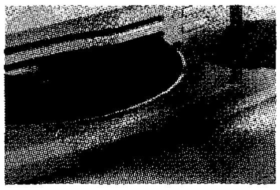

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